# Daily Report

# Latin America

FBIS-LAT-88-019
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## Cuba

### Castro, Rodriguez Attend UNEAC Congress

*FL282228 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[By correspondent Paula Pino from Havana's Palace of Conventions]

[Excerpts] The fourth congress of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists [UNEAC] continued its plenary session today with our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, in attendance. Numerous delegates expressed their opinions during today's first session. They referred to the deficiencies prevailing in some areas of art and culture which prevent the full development of culture in our country. [passage omitted]

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the PCC Politburo and vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, spoke during the morning session.

[Begin Rodriguez recording] Intellectuals should get closer and closer to the people and, in this way, finally break those barriers. To achieve this, it is very important for Cuban writers and artists to understand more and more that they are far removed from being the critical consciousness of society—they have never been that. When Gramsci called them servants of the superstructure, he was not forgetting the subordinate role they had been condemned to play for centuries despite Socrates' subtle rebellion or Michelangelo's defiant individualism. The rise of the bourgeoisie undoubtedly granted some advantages and tolerated the apparent audacities of intellectuals and artists that forced them to always sing to the tune of the dominant forces, which determined the themes or condemned them to live at the margin of society in what was sometimes a splendid but not always comfortable isolation—remember only Verlaine or Kafka.

No, society does not have a predetermined critical consciousness. If there was a group that could claim that role in our socialist Cuba it would be the party. But it does not do so because the party knows very well that its strength to guide others comes from having its roots deeply grounded in the working class and in all other sectors of the people. It knows that in order to become a political and ideological leader it has to respect their criticism, and receive it as their most important contribution.

Free from the pretentions of becoming society's critical reservoir, enriched by their historic modesty, our writers and artists will be able to be better witnesses of the truth. We ask them to be no more and no less. By doing it, they will free themselves from the artistic and literary discourse of apologetic and moralizing tones which lack problem-solving methods and are based on primitive formulas of doubtful mobilizing effectiveness. The congress' report referred to this and complained about it being a symptom of our culture's bad times. We have to understand each other. The revolution, which calls to serve the writer and artist, is not an enclosed road in which there is only room for apologists and acolytes.

A document has been rightfully mentioned in this congress. It will have a permanent value in our literature and culture. This was Fidel's speech to the intellectuals. The words uttered that afternoon still enlighten us. Amid subtle criticism, the necessary image of our culture of today and tomorrow began to emerge. It is often said that we have to use our cultural level as a starting point. That is correct. But starting from that point does not mean that we have to adapt ourselves to it. Lenin, who nourished himself, as no one else, from the people, and Fidel, a contemporary Leninist, have known how to use the people as a starting point for a continuous upward course. Let us do the same. Let's free ourselves from populist appendages.

If we were going to be blamed for something it should be for not being strict enough. It is an example of what I usually call socialist conformity—not struggling hard enough to introduce art education from the beginning in our children's and youth's primary school. If it is true that knowing how to shoot a weapon is important in our fatherland today, this should not make us forget that it is also important to learn to appreciate Degas, Picasso, Beethoven, Prokofiev. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

### UNEAC President Elected

*FL290417 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 0233 GMT 29 Jan 88*

[Text] The fourth congress of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists has elected Abel Prieto as its national president. (Oselo Yola) was elected first vice president.

Rene de la Nuez and (Graciela Povoloti) were elected vice presidents. Also elected were (Lloyd Paraujo), president of plastic arts; (Gualdo Leiva), president of literature; (Jorge Gomez Labaina), president of music; and Abelardo Vidal, president of movies, radio, and television. Those elected as secretaries were: (Miguel Barnet), Juan Padron, and (Alberto Jorge Carol).

Members of the National Council include (Leo Broward), Roberto Fernandez Retamar, Jose Antonio Portuondo, and (Tomas Guitierrez Alea). (Ariel James), (Abelardo Scorin), (Roberto Favelo), Enrique Nunez Rodriguez, Mario Balmaseda, and Victor Rodriguez Delgado are also members of the UNEAC directorate. They were presented at the plenum of the fourth congress which is meeting in the Palace of Conventions.

### No Sanctions Seen on Olympics Decision

*FL251536 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0440 GMT 24 Jan 88*

[Text] Havana, 23 Jan (NOTIMEX)—Jose Ramon Fernandez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and minister of education of Cuba, said today that neither the IOC (International Olympic Committee) nor the PASO (Pan-American Sports Organization) can sanction Cuba for not registering for the 1988 Olympics because participation is not compulsory.

The Cuban leader made the statement in an interview for BOHEMIA magazine. He added that up to the time that Cuba announced its decision, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch had been in daily contact with the Cuban Olympic Committee and Government officials to whom he pledged to respect their decisions and not to call for sanctions. He repeatedly promised to respect their decisions and not call for any sanctions.

Fernandez also accused the Seoul regime of denying cosponsorship to North Korea and of putting up all sorts of obstacles to IOC efforts in that regard.

The Cuban Olympic Committee and Government announced on 15 January that they had decided not to register or to commit themselves to participating in the 1988 games.

### State Supervision of Nuclear Plants Decreed

*FL211705 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Jan 88*

[Text] The Cuban Government has promulgated a new decree concerning state supervision to ensure safety at the Cienfuegos nuclear power plant and other similar installations. The decree states that the objective is to guarantee the operation of these facilities under safe conditions and without risk to plant personnel, the population, or the environment. The Executive Secretariat for Nuclear Affairs, the State Committee of Labor and Social Security, and the Ministries of the Interior, Construction, and Public Health will participate in the state supervision.

### Integral Automation Plan Approved in Havana

*FL211615 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Jan 88*

[Text] A strategic document has been approved in Havana that will make it possible to define the integral automation program in Cuba up to the year 2000. CEMA specialists, vice ministers and representatives of 11 production organs of the state's central administration took part in the meeting chaired by Lionel Soto, secretary of the PCC Central Committee.

### Commentary Assesses Central American Meeting

*PA241404 Havana International Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 18 Jan 88*

["Our America" commentary read by Manolo Ortega]

[Text] The summit of regional presidents ended in San Jose, Costa Rica, following 2 days of tense meetings in which an attempt was made to put pressure on Nicaragua and bring about the failure of the regional dialogue.

It was evident during the meeting that there was a lack of political willingness by certain governments to solve the acute problems that are permanently distressing the signatory nations of the Esquipulas II agreement. Countries such as El Salvador and Honduras deepened their recalcitrant positions against the Sandinist government. Meanwhile, Guatemala and especially Costa Rica were involved in maneuvers that could be dubiously labeled as sincere attempts to achieve peace.

Although the meeting took place amid versions of what was going on—including the existence of tension, an extension of deadlines to comply with agreements, and other rumors—the final declaration clearly points to the partial fulfillment of agreements and a renewal of commitments. It also seems that the call for an end to the work of the International Verification and Follow-Up Commission triumphed. That commission will be replaced by an executive commission of foreign ministers.

In this regard we must recall that the governments of Jose Napoleon Duarte and Jose Azcona were the staunchest enemies of the commission. They continue to oppose on-site verification of compliance to the commitments while they shout out and proclaim that they are the only ones who have complied.

In reality, when it comes to compliance, we must insist that the facts will always favor Nicaragua. In fact, at this summit, President Daniel Ortega announced a number of measures that his government will implement. Among other measures, President Ortega announced that the state emergency will be lifted, talks will be held with the counterrevolution, the amnesty law will be broadened, and municipal elections will be held. Ortega pointed out that negotiations with the rebels are exclusively aimed at achieving a cease-fire; this is not a political dialogue, because the mercenaries would first have to lay down their arms for that.

The Sandinist revolution's position, besides being a new and important contribution to peace in the area, forces other governments to implement similar plans, plans that have been primarily rejected by El Salvador and Guatemala.

Although no one has mentioned it, the pressure exerted by a U.S. official who recently toured Central America was exposed. This shows once again the historically

known procedures used by the United States when it seeks to reverse processes. The threat to suspend economic and military aid to Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala seems to have weighed more in the decisions of their leaders than frank peace aspirations. Perhaps this is why maneuvers and pressure prevailed at the meeting.

Undoubtedly the Nicaraguan Government's efforts will have to be taken into consideration as time goes by because it will be meaningless to say that commitments are being fulfilled when reality shows the contrary in the other Central American nations. The agreements signed by five nations must be complied with by all of them. Otherwise, at a given point, Nicaragua can always reconsider its decisions and adjust them to the circumstances.

### Soviet Academician Marchuk Arrives 24 Jan

*FL251435 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 25 Jan 88*

[Text] Guriy Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, arrived in Cuba yesterday in response to an invitation from the PCC Central Committee and the Cuban Academy of Sciences. During his stay in our country, a cooperation protocol will be signed between the two academies. Marchuk and his delegation will visit research centers and historical areas.

### Balaguer Receives Marchuk

*FL270349 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 0303 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Jose Ramon Balaguer, secretary of the PCC Central Committee, today received in Havana Guriy Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who has been fulfilling an extensive work program in our country for the past 2 days.

The Cuban leader reviewed the work being carried out by the nation's highest scientific organ in preparation for its upcoming report to the National Assembly of the People's Government. During his meeting with the Soviet official, Balaguer said that Cuba is undergoing a process aimed at strengthning and increasing its scientific potential to meet the nation's requirements. On his part, Marchuk said that his visits to research centers and meetings with various leaders are progressing satisfactorily.

### Protocol Initialed

*FL272246 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 2139 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] It was reported today in Havana that a protocol was signed following talks between the presidents of the Cuban and Soviet Academy of Sciences, Rosa Elena Simeon and Guriy Marchuk, respectively. The two parties recognized the development and results of the cooperation the two organizations have been carrying out for 25 years. They also said the work carried out by the scientists of both academies is positive. It was agreed to continue the cooperation between Cuba and the USSR in developing science and technology.

### British, European Parliamentarians Visit

*FL270236 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Deputies (Richard Bald) of the United Kingdom and [name indistinct], members of the European parliament, met today with Severo Aguirre, acting president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP]. The visitors received an extensive explanation of the ANPP organs, and they also exchanged views on the European parliament. The delegation, which has been in Cuba since Sunday, is visiting areas of social and economic interest.

## Haiti

### Manigat Talks With Businessmen on Economy

*FL282121 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Thirty merchants, businessmen, and industrialists from the capital met with Haiti's newly-elected president, professor Leslie Francois Manigat, at his home yesterday. Mr Manigat spoke to them, after the meeting, of a program for a quick repair of the Haitian economy.

Manigat made statements to the press in which he said he was very much interested in in-depth economic development for Haiti, integrated economic development for the population. Economic integration promotes social integration, said Manigat during his meeting with approximately 30 businessmen, merchants, and industrialists from Port-au-Prince yesterday at his private residence.

Many of these businessmen, whom we questioned, said that their presence was a personal initiative and not due to any invitation extended by the newly-elected president. They also said they were not there as representatives of any businessman's organization. The meeting was brief, they stressed.

Thus, they said they had met with the newly-elected president, but not at his invitation.

### Manigat on Private Sector

*FL282240 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Haiti's new president Leslie Manigat met yesterday with a group of businessmen, to get acquainted with the private sector and establish trust between the two parties.

During the informal meeting, Mr Manigat asked for the private sector's participation and cooperation. We can change the country with the full and honest cooperation of the productive sectors, the new president said over RTNH. [Begin Manigat recording] [Words indistinct] expressed the desire to gather a few friends from the private sector for a first, get-acquainted meeting, so to speak. I found this to be an excellent idea. I said to myself: This is the first opportunity I have had to meet with you, and for us to get to know each other. In order to accomplish anything together, I must establish trust.

I think that is perhaps the key word (?in this current) situation. It is interesting to note that trust—a word with psychological implications—is the key word even before words with economic and social implications. Why? Because it constitutes the front door.

Without trust there is no work, no economic revival, no investment.

Therefore, I think this meeting's goal is simply to, in a fully relaxed way... [changes thought] and you will see I will try to introduce a new style to the government. I am not at all a formal man. As a matter of fact, I intend to continue to live as I did before. I think of myself primarily as an academic momentarily engaged in politics. This is a sort of digression in my life, brought about by what I consider a civic duty. I feel it is our duty to give, our duty to make sacrifices for a Fatherland we love; and this explains why we are today in this very difficult situation.

You know better than I, from having stayed in the country that the task awaiting me is heavy. You are aware of the difficulties and problems to be solved. Someone had to be willing to make the sacrifice. I decided I would make the sacrifice but I am also certain that if I manage to obtain the cooperation—the complete and sincere cooperation—of the diverse (?positive) sectors of this country, we can indeed change this country. We can indeed, together, create (?a different) Haiti.

Ever since my appeal in 1980, which very few of you had the opportunity to read for the simple reason that back then, our writings circulated only clandestinely... [changes thought] We could not be published openly. I could not talk over television as today. [laughter]

In an appeal made back around 1980 to what I call the nation's vital forces, to that pillar of national revival, I insisted on the importance of the private sector, on the dynamism expected from it to develop Haiti. And back then, I had expressed the hope we would be able to find a Haitian private sector with a modern direction looking ahead because this country needs changing.

The status quo has prevailed for too long. There has been a sort of spontaneously conservative attitude for too long which has caused us to maintain structures which today are no longer able to satisfy (?the needs of the population) [words indistinct]. These structures must change.

If these structures must be changed, why don't we do it together? The change must not come at the expense of any given sector of the population whatsover. It must not be directed against any given sector of the population. On the contrary! We must all work on this, because I am sure that in (?one's own) country there is a common denominator among all the productive sectors. It is this common denominator we must identify;we can find it only through (?informal) meetings like this one, through dialogue which we can establish among ourselves. Dialogue will lead to a concerted, rather than imposed, solution. [end recording]

Before his meeting with the country's businessmen, the new president, who is to take office on 7 February, visited a temporary office put at his disposal by the National Government Council. The office is located at the former ONAPI [Office Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Investissement—National Office for Investment Promotion].

### KID Calls on President-Elect To Step Down

*FL290000 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] The Confederation for Democratic Unity [KID] notes very indignantly the way they have plotted with other nations to massacre and trample the Haitian people in order to allegedly give the country a president. In view of the danger threatening Haiti and considering how the people nationwide are crying out for the Reagan-Seaga 17 January 1988 election masquerade to be annulled, KID asks Mr Leslie Manigat to step out of the picture.

KID feels that standing on the pile of Haitian people killed in the 29 November massacre to reach the Presidency, to become president under those conditions, constitutes an act of treason against the Haitian people, the Haitian Constitution, and democracy. Therefore, KID asks Mr Manigat to preserve his honor by making a statement refusing the power the CNG [National Government Council] is giving him. That is the only way he can hold his head up high before the Haitian people and the world.

The letter to Mr Manigat says: KID feels that to accept power not founded on any popular support is to set yourself up to be used as a figurehead for a military dictatorship. It is to provoke a situation in which strikes, protests, and demonstrations will continue even more vigorously. It means to block the path to the reopening of schools, to prevent the university from opening, to create a climate of tension, and to give Uncle Sam a pretext to send more weapons to be used against the people.

KID heard you talk about reconciliation and national unity. Does that mean the people should forget about all the criminals that have been abusing it for the past 31 years so they can continue to (?repress) at will? Does that mean the people should forget about those who are in the habit of trashing their stalls of merchandise along the waterfront? Does that mean the people should forget about Fort Dimanche, Jean-Rabel, 29 November 1987, Yves Volel, Charlot Jacquelin, and much more?

KID is asking you, Mr Manigat, to turn down the CNG's job. This will give you greater prestige among the people, who could always decide to choose you, if it is true you are popular. Instead of their forcing the majority to accept you, it is you who should bow to the will of the majority of the people in the country. They are asking for only one thing: that the poorly-disguised, fake elections of 17 January 1988 be annulled. KID believes the true patriots are the people who place the interests of the country before the trappings of power and the interests of the nation before the interests of the candidate. If you are one of these people, Mr Manigat, do as the people ask right away, quietly and without making a fuss.

### Dejoie's Driver Arrested on Weapons Charges

*FL282130 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Report by Jeremie correspondent Luckner Laguerre]

[Text] The police in Jeremie arrested, on Wednesday, 27 January, (Hiram Vincent), who is Louis Dejoie II's chauffeur, because they found weapons in his home. They also arrested (Ignacio Hilaire), (Jean Joseph Bellefleur), and (Joseph Jean-Gerard). (Vincent) comes to Jeremie now and then, and is in the habit of spending a few days here. They found a special 12-gauge shotgun, three Uzi clips, a box of (Taurus) bullets, and a 380-caliber [as heard] machine-pistol. This matter has given rise to much comment in Jeremie. We are on the scene and will seek further information and keep you informed.

### Further on Arrests

*FL282152 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Report by Jeremie correspondent Frankel Valentin]

[Text] The Haitian Army raided the residences of several young men who live in Jeremie on the morning of 27 January.

The first raid was on the residence of (Hiram Vincent), a member of the PAIN [National Agricultural and Industrial Party], which is headed by agronomist Louis Dejoie.

According to the Army, they found in his possession a 12-gauge shotgun, a machine-pistol, and bullets and clips. He was arrested at 0200 [as heard] at the residence of Mrs (Monestine), just after he arrived from Port-au-Prince. It has also been reported that he holds dual nationality. He is reportedly both a Haitian and Canadian citizen.

In the neighborhood of (Basse Ville)—or, if you prefer (Nan Pousye)—the Army also raided the residences of (Ignacio Hilaire), (Jean Gerard Joseph), and (Jean-Joseph Lafleur), at the same hour. These men were arrested, taken to the barracks, and then taken to prison.

Several of them have already been roughed up. We saw (Vincent) with his clothes in tatters and handcuffed as he was being taken to jail on Rue Prison in Jeremie.

According to witnesses, (Antoinier Gestainvil) was also arrested. We did not see him among the men being taken to the prison in Jeremie. These same witnesses say that another man, (Robert Charles), received a few blows from a rifle butt during the raids in (Basse Ville), when he appeared and tried to whisper something to the men (?which was not well-received).

According to a reliable source, the Army is planning to arrest several other young men. The Army also went by the residence of Jean Raymond, the representative of the PUCH, the Unified Party of Haitian Communists, but did not find him there.

Also, (Elysee Posy), the young man who received five bullet wounds during the Bernard Sansaricq affair, has asked us to get a message to his mother, Mrs Andre Posy, and all his relatives living in Cite Soleil. He wants to inform her he is in jail in Jeremie and his situation is not good at all. He says everyone except himself and (Lony Severe), at whose house Posy had come to spend some time, have been released. Only he and (Severe) are still in prison. He asks them to come to Jeremie quickly with money because he needs immediate surgery because the bullets are still in his body.

### Romain Elected Port-au-Prince Magistrate

*FL272015 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] Eng Franck Romain, a former mayor of Port-au-Prince, was elected communal magistrate in the 17 January elections, with some 54,000 votes. He will take the oath of office this morning at 0900 at the Law Courts. The ceremony is probably underway already. He will be installed in a ceremony at City Hall in Port-au-Prince at 1000 this morning. [Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole at 1400 GMT on 27 January notes the ceremonies did not take place, adding: "As of now, we do not know when the ceremonies will take place."]

Franck Romain, who has been elected communal magistrate for Port-au-Prince, has promised to clean up Port-au-Prince. During an interview he gave RTNH [Radio-Telediffusion Nationale d'Haiti], Romain made many other promises.

[Begin Romain recording] I am not surprised by my victory. On the contrary, what did surprise me was the count. I think I could have gotten more votes. I think I could double or even triple the 54,3000 votes, in Port-au-Prince.

Of course, this happened considering the conditions under which people voted, considering the propaganda and what the people effecting the propaganda did, they frightened the population, intimidated it. That is why I find the number of votes low. The 54,300 votes is not Franck Romain's normal score in Port-au-Prince. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Senator-Elect Romelus Cited on Opposition

*FL271947 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Mr (Gerard Romelus), a former member of the Constitutional Assembly who was elected senator for the Department of the West in the 17 January elections, has come by our newsroom. He expressed to us his thoughts and explained his point of view in connection with (?politics in Haiti).

He also spoke of the problem of the Haitian opposition. He invited the population to stay cool and to remain calm until 7 February 1988, when the National Government Council will transfer power to the democratically-elected president. He asked that everyone stay cool so the country can get off to a good start. [passage omitted]

[Begin (Romelus) recording] [Passage omitted] Let me add that I also came here to reiterate to you my priority in the senate, which is to uphold the Constitution of 1987, to ensure it is respected and applied, and that it survives. Even if a few small corrections are made to the Constitution, we are going to sit in the senate to ensure that the people's will, as expressed on 29 March 1987 when it ratified the Constitution, is respected. We are also going to ensure that the Constitution lives as long as we want democracy to live in the country. I am certain a majority of the Haitian people are in favor of democracy and of a pluralistic government. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Letter Sent to CEH Asking for Mediation

*FL290224 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Mr Gerard Noel, who is not to be confused with Information Minister Gerard C. Noel, has sent an open letter to the members of the Episcopal Conference of Haiti [CEH].

The letter says: The Haitian people have been struggling against the Jean-Claude Duvalier dictatorship since 1985. In 1986, the dictator left the country. There have been repeated demonstrations, strikes, and so forth in Haiti ever since. The country has fallen into anarchy. Now the Haitian people have nothing at all: no health care, food, or hospitals. The Haitian masses are swimming in a sea of abject poverty because of politics. This kind of politics cost me more than 8 years imprisonment in the 1960's and I am not even a member of any political group. Therefore, I am asking the CEH to meet and study the Haitian situation; I make the request as a Haitian citizen and as a Catholic.

I ask you to designate Msgr Joseph Lafontant, the auxiliary bishop of Port-au-Prince, as a kind of mediator, so he can see if he can get the opposition and the new government together through negotiations and dialogue. If the church is not willing to take on this role, we Haitian masses are going to starve to death.

The open letter to the CEH is signed by Gerard Noel.

Mr Gerard Noel ends saying: I am no relation to Information Minister Gerard C. Noel. I am a martyr of the Francois Duvalier regime. My name is Gerard Noel; I am 60 years old and I am a Haitian citizen.

### Election Results Contested Nationwide

#### Deputy in Northwest

*FL271924 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Several residents of Anse-a-Foleur have sent our newsroom a copy of a letter they sent the president and members of the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] in which they contest the election of Mr Louis Guillaume as deputy for the electoral district of Saint-Louis du Nord.

The results from the BED [Departmental Electoral Office] in Port-de-Paix on Friday, 22 January were final results, and showed Mr (Henrio Bernard) leading, says the letter. Further on, they say: If neither candidate has an absolute majority, why doesn't the CEP hold a runoff? They cite Article 45 of the Electoral Law in this connection. The letter, which comes from northwestern Haiti, is signed by 50 people.

#### Deputies in Port-au-Prince

*FL271921 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] The publication of the final list of elected deputies and senators continues to cause much reaction from diverse sectors. Many people think the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] favored certain candidates to the detriment of others.

We have been receiving many notes of reaction here at the newsroom. We have received numerous notes from many different places. Yesterday afternoon, Fritz Pierre came personally to the radio station's complaints office to protest Evans Nicolas' victory in the sixth electoral district of Port-au-Prince, the Delmas area. He said he does not recognize Mr Evans Nicolas as being the elected deputy for Delmas. He added he will continue his

struggle to the end. Pierre said he knows that Evans Nicolas did not win the election and that it was Fritz Pierre who was elected deputy for the Delmas area.

Another protest came from Mr (Georges Brignol), a former candidate for deputy for the first electoral district of Port-au-Prince. During an interview here at the radio station this morning, he said he was not at all satisfied with the results issued by the CEP last night. He said he is very indignant, that he did not know this is how things would be and is not satisfied with the CEP's results. We will have you listen to his statements.

[Begin recording] [(Brignol)] I am here at the station this morning to address the matter of my being elected deputy. I was a candidate. My adversaries were (Lionel Mondestin Monpoint) and (Thies Malette). (Thies Malette) withdrew his candidacy on 16 January. Everyone heard him. On 17 January, the day of the elections, I saw everyone voting for me. Many people voted for me. This is something I believed. [as heard] After the election, (?in the afternoon of) 17 January, when a partial count of the ballots was made, I was ahead of (Lionel Mondestin) and (Thies Malette) was never mentioned. I never heard anything about (Thies Malette). Everyone knew he had withdrawn his candidacy.

On Monday, 18 January, the partial counting continued and I had 2,700 votes. (Monpoint) had 1,058 votes. Everyone heard this. Then, they stopped giving partial returns for deputy. I was waiting to hear the final results. I heard last night that they appointed (Thies Malette) deputy. I am not saying "elected" because (Malette) was no longer in the race.

Article 90.1 of the Constitution says the deputy elected must have a very high percentage of the total votes. (Malette) had no votes. I never heard about any votes having been cast for (Malette). I won't say this is fraud. I prefer to say that the CEP has made a mistake.

[Reporter] So, (Brignol), if I understand you correctly, (Thies Malette's) having been appointed, as you say, deputy for the first electoral district of Port-au-Prince, is an injustice. Is that it?

[(Brignol)] Certainly. It is unfair. And I would like for (Thies Malette) to have the courage to come forward and say that he had withdrawn his candidacy. [end recording]

## Magistrate in Delmas

*FL271932 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Mrs (Solange Devarieux) came by the radio station to say that she is contesting Mr (Mosene Beauvais)' victory as magistrate for Delmas. She claims it was Mr (Rodrigue Ben-Bichotte) who won, with a total of 23,907 votes against 9,555 votes for Mr (Beauvais). She told us she contested (Beauvais)' victory, especially since Mr (Beauvais) is a foreign national. He took back his Haitian nationality just 6 months ago.

## Deputy in Port-de-Paix

*FL290100 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] The people who participated in the elections, be they leaders or from the masses, are continuing to protest the elections, both the way the elections took place and the results.

A group of citizens from Port-de-Paix yesterday vigorously protested the results in the northwestern part of Haiti, in Port-de-Paix, where they learned that (Jerome Mazare) was elected deputy. We will listen to them.

[Begin recording[ [Unidentified speaker] It is in connection with electoral fraud. Following the elections on Sunday, the BED [Departmental Electoral Office] in Port-de-Paix posted the results. Everyone knew (Josue Lafrance) was elected deputy. To the great astonishment of the people of Port-de-Paix, the CEP [Provisional Electoral Council] published its official results on Sunday and said (Mazare) won.

We of Port-de-Paix cannot accept (Jerome) because he was deputy under Jean-Claude and because he was involved in many things. He did many things to the youth of Port-au-Paix. And now we cannot possibly want him as deputy any more.

[Reporter] Do you not want him because he was deputy under Jean-Claude Duvalier and committed abuses or because he did not win the election?

[Speaker] First of all, because he was a deputy under Jean-Claude and committed abuses. Secondly, he did not win the election. I think (Lafrance) had approximately 2,000 more votes than (Mazare).

Everyone knows—I think the entire country must be aware of the fact—that (Mazare) participated in poisoning the water in Port-de-Paix. All the young people know about this. So if a person who did this becomes deputy now, he will be out for revenge. He will take revenge on the young people. Since the CEP had said it would hold free, honest, and democratic elections, we young people in Port-de-Paix participated, because we expected the elections to be honest.

[Reporter] So the BED gave one result and the CEP another?

[Speaker] Yes.

[Reporter] So there has been reaction. And what does the CEP in Port-au-Prince say?

[Speaker] They have not said anything, up to now. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Magistrate in Carrefour

*FL290234 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] Many people from Carrefour [South Port-au-Prince] came to Radio Nationale yesterday carrying signs and saying unflattering things about Carrefour magistrate-elect (Max Aubourg). They claim it was (Jean-Baptiste Desanges) who won in the 17 January elections. [passage omitted] They publicly denounced the fraud committed in favor of (Aubourg) and asked the Provisional Electoral Council to throw some light on the matter and solve the problem. [passage omitted]

### MOP Issues Statement Denouncing Elections

*FL290243 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] The administrative council of the MOP, Movement for the Organization of the Country, which participated in the 17 January elections, has issued a statement. [passage omitted]

The MOP, together with the entire nation, regrets, denounces, and condemns the shameful elections irregularities and fraud which were aimed particularly at reestablishing the macoute regime that no one wants anymore. This disgrace has sullied Haiti's image abroad, made people angry, and deepened the chasm dividing the Haitian family. The MOP had the courage to warn the first CEP [Provisional Electoral Council] against trying to hold elections rigged in any way. Today it denounces even more vigorously the dirty and immoral maneuvers of the second CEP. That is why MOP vehemently protests the results of the 17 January 1988 elections. [passage omitted]

MOP, which is democratic and based on the Constitution, rejects any government resulting from any coup d'etat, be it open or disguised. [passage omitted] MOP asks all honest sectors in Haiti to support all actions it will undertake to have the sovereign people's will respected. [passage omitted]

[signed:] Gerard Philippe Auguste, for the Administrative Council.

### Trafficking in Workers in Dominican Republic

*FL272003 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1145 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Report by Santo Domingo correspondent (Jean Gazman Bissainthe])

[Text] Many Haitians live in the southern department of the Dominican Republic, in a community called Enriquillo that is part of the town of Barahona. They work the land, planting coffee and other things. However, these people's lives are being made impossible in the area.

The problem arises from the trafficking in and sale of our Haitian brothers by many important authorities, many members of the Armed Forces. We are reminded of the French colonial period;the same thing is going on now. In the Enriquillo area, many members of the Armed Forces,important authorities, are selling Haitians for 40, 50, and even 100 pesos to coffee growers. There are trucks in the area which travel to the border to bring Haitians here. Military trucks are also sent out to arrest them. And there are always informers who report where these people are hiding in Enriquillo.

They arrest these Haitians when the Haitians are not working, because they are illegals then. The farmers come to get them while they are in prison. They come to the military with money in hand, to buy whatever Haitian slaves look good to them, to work for them. This is really degrading, inhuman, and against social mores, shameful. It is an offense to the dignity of the Haitian people.

We heard this from Father (Abelino Fernandez), who works in the Enriquillo parish, in a speech he made last Saturday before the minister of agriculture of the Dominican Republic. We are passing this on because we think it is time we recovered the prestige we had long ago.

## Jamaica

### Seaga Supports Haitian President Manigat

*FL281410 Bridgetown CANA in English 1355 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Jan 28, CANA—Jamaica has declared support for Leslie Manigat, the political scientist declared the winner of Haiti's contoversial presidential election of January 17.

The government of Jamaica hopes that under his presidency the democratic process in Haiti will be strengthened, Prime Minister Edward Seaga said in a statement Wednesday night. On this basis it will lend support in any way it can to programmes designed to advance this process and to improve the standard of living of the people of Haiti and the economic and social well-being of the country, Seaga added.

The prime minister pointed to Manigat's academic credentials and noted that he was well known throughout the Caribbean, Latin America and Europe. Seaga also pointedly referred to the fact that Manigat was imprisoned by Francois Duvalier shortly after Duvalier came to power in 1957.

Unlike most of his regional colleagues, Seaga has refused to denounce the election, organised by the Haitian military-led junta, as a sham. The Jamaica leader sent his education minister and Haiti expert, Neville Gallimore, to witness the election as an observer and said then that

while Jamaica would recognise the new government the level of support it would receive from Kingston would depend on the conduct of the poll and the response of the Haitian people.

Gallimore's finding has not been announced. The junta claimed a 35 per cent voter turn-out, but Haitian opposition leaders and Western diplomats said it was more between 5-10 per cent.

Most of the opposition figures with popular support boycotted the election which they contended was a rape of democracy.

The first attempt at free elections after more than 30 years of autocratic rule in Haiti was derailed last November when thugs, widely believed to be members of the para-military secret police of the former Duvalier dictatorship, shot and killed dozens of voters. Military leader Henri Namphy fired the independent electoral commission that organised the November election and named his own group to write new election regulations.

## St Lucia

### Area Delegation To Visit Haiti on 31 Jan

*FL280139 Bridgetown CANA in English 2201 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Castries, St Lucia Jan 26, CANA—Latin American political parties have agreed to send a delegation to Haiti in the aftermath of this month's controversial elections, St Lucia's opposition leader, Julian Hunte, reported Tuesday.

Hunte, just back home from the meeting in Peru of the Permanent Conference of Political Parties of Latin America (COPPAL) that made the decision, said the delegation would visit Port-au-Prince January 31 for talks with the authorities. He said the Standing Committee of Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States Opposition Parties (SCOPE), which he chairs, was invited to send a representative.

Haiti's January 17 poll was boycotted by several people amidst claims of fraud.

Hunte said the Peru meeting also discussed issues such as the foreign debt crisis in the Caribbean and Latin America, independence for Puerto Rico and the U.S.-backed warfare in Nicaragua.

### Opposition Against Single Party Idea

*FL281556 Bridgetown CANA in English 2058 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Castries, St. Lucia, Jan 27, CANA—The parliamentary opposition St. Lucia Labour Party (SLP) on Wednesday distanced itself from a recent call by another St. Lucian political party for creation of a unified opposition party in the seven-island Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS).

SLP leader Julian Hunte described the call by the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) as being unrealistic, declaring that the opposition parties now grouped together under a loose arrangement, do not have a homogenous political and ideological position.

Hunte said that it was never intended that they should have such a position when they formed the Standing Committee of Opposition Parties in the Eastern Caribbean (SCOPE).

The SLP leader was reacting to a call made earlier this week by George Odlum, leader of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) of St. Lucia for creation of a single opposition party in the Eastern Caribbean.

Hunte said that SCOPE is not in competition with the Caribbean Democratic Union (CDU), an alliance of right wing and centre right political parties in the Caribbean.

SCOPE came into existence through the desire of the opposition parties in the sub-region to articulate and debate, on the proposal by the OECS government for a union of the territories, said Hunte.

He said that the SLP wanted to reiterate its opposition to creation of a single opposition party in the area, and to repeat its commitment to political pluralism in the region.

## De la Madrid Assesses Group of 6 Meeting

*PA261915 Mexico City Red Nacional 13*
*Imevision Television in Spanish 1955 GMT 22 Jan 88*

["Exclusive" interview with President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado by Angel Trinidad Ferreira, director of the National News System; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ferreira] Mr President, a few hours ago, the New Delhi group, which is struggling to achieve universal peace and disarmament for human survival, ended its meeting. However, you were also on a state visit to Sweden. I would like you to give us an assessment of the economic and political results of your meetings in Sweden with officials, political party leaders, businessmen, bankers, and heads of state.

[De la Madrid] [Passage omitted] The Group of Six held its third meeting in Stockholm. The first was held in New Delhi; the second in Ixtapa, Mexico; and the third here in Stockholm.

It is important to note that the overall climate at the meeting was one of encouragement, particularly because of the 8 December agreement the United States and USSR reached on partial and initial disarmament. We evaluated the agreement and were satisfied and encouraged. However, it is a limited agreement; it encompasses only 5 percent of the atomic arsenal.

First, the problem of nuclear disarmament must be discussed in the future in conjuction with conventional disarmament. This is because it is possible—perhaps we are too mistrustful—for nuclear disarmament to be offset by a compensatory buildup of conventional weapons, that is, of nonnuclear weapons. Weapons technology has advanced so much that conventional weapons, or eventually even chemical weapons, could be as deadly as nuclear weapons. That was one of the most important points made.

The second point, on which Mexico placed great emphasis, was an attempt to link the disarmament process to the process of world development. Reduced expenditure for weapons, both nuclear and conventional, could contribute to the economic modernization of the USSR. Mr Gorbachev himself has said so, because he feels his nation's economy is obsolete and technologically backward. Consequently, the USSR would be able to play a greater role as a driving force in worldwide economic development and increase its foreign trade, not only in the socialist world, but in the nonsocialist world as well.

The United States has not been as frank; it has very serious problems, such as the budget and trade deficits that are causing it to lose standing as an economic power. I believe if the United States used its resources more on its development rather than on weapons, it would help the world economy. There would be more international trade from which we developing countries, particularly Mexico, could benefit. In addition, to the extent the two superpowers channel the resources they save from the arms process to the developing countries, we will be able to avoid this worrisome world trend—the widening gulf between the wealth of the industrialized countries and the poverty of the developing countries, which is in turn a factor of world insecurity.

The extent to which countries are polarized and industrialized countries become increasingly richer while developing countries become increasingly poorer will determine the danger to international security. Terrorism, for example, could increase as a result of the desperation of the poorer countries. Therefore, I believe the meeting's results have been very important. [passage omitted]

## Nicaraguan Minister Reynaldo Tefel Arrives

*FL280404 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish*
*0316 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Text] Mexico City, 26 Jan (NOTIMEX)—Reynaldo Antonio Tefel, minister of the Nicaraguan Social Security Institute, today said that U.S. Congressional approval of new funds for the anti-Sandinists would create a difficult situation throughout Latin America.

The Nicaraguan official added that if such a situation arose, his country would call on the other four Central American presidents to adopt new measures. Tefel, who is representing President Daniel Ortega, will meet today with Mexican Foreign Secretary Bernardo Sepulveda Amor. He will ask Sepulveda to continue to serve on the International Verification and Follow-Up Commission for the Esquipulas II peace agreements, which was signed by the Central American leaders in August 1987.

He said that while President Ortega is visiting Spain and Italy, the Nicaraguan education minister [Fernando Cardenal Martinez] is touring South America. Both are seeking new peace alternatives for Central America.

The Central American official said that the signing of the Esquipulas II agreement does not automatically create peace because peace is a long-term process and Nicaragua continues to defend its territory with weapons.

Tefel stressed Mexico's role in the Contadora and Support Groups in achieving peace in the region. These are the only groups in Latin America which can help the peace process.

In reference to the remarks made by Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, Tefel said that so far the United States has tried to divide Latin America.

Finally, after rejecting the idea his country is communist, Tefel said that in 2 or 3 more days talks will be held with Nicaraguan Government authorities and Contra leaders, in accordance with the Esquipulas II agreement.

**Salvadoran Minister Comments on Relations**

*FL281640 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2219 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Mexico City, 26 Jan (NOTIMEX)—Salvadoran Deputy Agriculture Minister Oscar Morales has said the Mexican Government has in no way criticized his government and proof of this is that relations between the two countries are becoming closer.

Interviewed at the Mexico City airport, Morales remarked that recent statements by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams are inappropriate because the Mexican Government recognizes his country's efforts to lay the foundations for democracy and to strengthen relations between the two nations.

Moreover, Morales asserted that the Salvadoran Government is endeavoring to involve the rightist and leftist sectors in the democratization process so they can participate in the 1989 presidential elections. He added that both state and private television channels are available to opposition leaders Ruben Zamora and Oqueli to air their views.

Morales said that attaining peace is not a short road but rather a long one. He denied that food is used in his country as a political weapon or pressure tool, because food supplies are guaranteed at present and moves are underway to provide a basic diet for the people.

Referring to U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposal to establish a free trade zone on the continent, Morales stressed that his country supports the plan as long as each nation's development is ensured.

The Salvadoran official is in this city to take part in a meeting of the Latin American Organization for Developing Fishing (OLDEPESCA), which representatives from 12 countries and 4 observers will attend.

**Briefs**

**1987 Drug Arrests**

The Federal Judicial Police reported that of 297 drug traffickers arrested in 1987, 166 are U.S. citizens. The Attorney General's Office also reported that 10 tons of cocaine were confiscated in 1987. The cocaine, which came from South America, has already been destroyed. [Summary] *[Mexico City EL NACIONAL in Spanish 18 Jan 88 p 6 PA]*

**Four Drug Traffickers Arrested**

Jesus Carrillo Gonzalez, Paulino Villa Melgarejo, Francisco Herrera Campos, and Rey Herrera Campos were arrested today by the Puerto Vallarta police while they were trying to send a ton of marijuana to the U.S. market. On the drug market, the ton of marijuana is worth $1 million. These same men are charged with assaulting and robbing two banks in San Jose and El Valle. [Summary] *[Mexico City XHTV Television in Spanish 0200 GMT 23 Jan 88 PA]*

## Belize

### Police Commissioner Announces Antidrug Campaign

*FL280140 Bridgetown CANA in English*
*2217 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Belmopan, Belize, Jan 26, CANA—Belize has developed over the last decade into a big producer of and a conduit for illegal drugs, and the police are about to launch their most serious anti-narcotics campaign yet, Commissioner of Police Bernard Bevans said here.

Bevans told a meeting of the Belize Chamber of Commerce and Industry that over the past ten years, there has been a great upsurge in drug trafficking in Belize.

The quantities of domestically cultivated marijuana has increased, leading to vast tonnages being exported to the United States of America, the commissioner said.

Bevans said that Belize has also become one of the several intermediate stopping places for cocaine in transit by air or sea from South America to the United States.

This is so, he said, since Belize is attractive to the (drug) traffickers because of the availability of many remotely-located airstrips in the most inaccessible part of our country and secure in the belief that the police force has been neither properly equipped nor mobile enough to pose a great threat to their operations.

Commissioner Bevans said, however, that the government over the past three years has undertaken an eradication programme, destroying crops of growing marijuana before it could be harvested.

He said that this programme has reduced the acreage of plants being grown from several thousand to mere hundreds.

But the commissioner felt that government's eradication policy is unfortunately not enough and that there is still a flourishing drug trade, for consumption at home and abroad, conducted not only by our own nationals but by well-organized groups from other countries, whose only interest is in making money, without conscience as to the end result of human misery and suffering.

Bevans said that with the support of both the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the Belize Police Force is about to tackle the problem with a highly-trained, mobile, well-equipped elite squad of police officers, as one of the most important phases in the development of the Belize Police Force.

The police chief also announced that Belize has been accepted into full membership of Interpol, the world-wide police network, dedicated to transmission of information on criminal activities.

### Indian Council Asks for Land in South

*FL251519 Bridgetown CANA in English*
*1848 GMT 24 Jan 88*

[By Norris Hall]

[Text] Belmopan, Belize, Jan 24, CANA—A group of Maya and Ketchi Indians in the Toledo District in the south of Belize have asked the government to give them 500,000 acres of land.

The descendants of the Central American nation's first inhabitants say this represents their rightful claim to a homeland.

The members of the group belong to the Toledo Maya Council, which was established to promote the preservation of the Maya culture and to make a representation to the government of the right of the Mayas to own land, says Diego Bol, a founder member.

Bol claims that the council, which is affiliated to the International Indigenous People Movement, represents the ten percent of the population of Belize who are Maya and Ketchi Indians.

The homeland movement in the Toledo District began a few years ago when the government began to parcel-out the Indian reservations in the Toledo District without consulting us, he said in an interview with CANA.

These reservations were established around Indian and Garifuna (black Caribs) villages in the south of the country by the British colonists back in 1924, as the colonial administration developed a more efficient means of collecting land taxes, according to an article which appeared in a recent issue of the publication, BELIZEAN STUDIES.

We (the Indians of Belize) continue to have a problem with owning our own land, as other people from outside (foreigners) are buying, or are given land over us Indians, as the majority of us are not sufficiently well educated to provide the government with development plans or to provide adequate criteria to own the land, Bol, a college teacher, said.

As much of the land around our villages are being taken away from us, we decided to raise the homeland issue with the government, for if we the Mayas do not secure our land, sooner or later we will be Belizeans without land.

Everybody else and all the other ethnic groups of Belize are getting land except us, Bol said.

While we are all Belizeans, and while ethnicity could be used to unite us as a people, it can also be used to divide us, he added. If the homeland issue is not resolved it can lead to ethnic division.

A government official told CANA that the minister of rural resources, Charles Wagner, has appointed a special rural lands committee to study the claims being put forward by the Toledo Maya Council.

The committee is made up of representatives from the Ministries of Natural Resources, Labour and Social Services, Agriculture, and Economic Development.

Bol has said that Wagner has given the Maya Council assurances that as soon as the finding of the committee is known, the government will put the issue to a referendum in the Toledo District.

Archaeological Commissioner Harriot Topsey, commenting on the position taken by the Toledo Maya Council, said that there cannot be any legitimate claim to a homeland in Belize by the Maya of Belize.

Topsey said that the archaeological sites of ancient Mayan temples in the Toledo District, were not built by the Ketchi or Mopan Maya, but rather by a Maya group known as the Manche Chol.

The Manche Chol, Topsey said, were rounded up during the Spanish conquest and taken into the Alta Verapaz area in the highlands of Guatemala, where they soon died as a result of the move plus antagonism between them and the Ketchi.

Bol counters that while the original Mayas were Manche Chols, the Mopan Mayas originally inhabited the area of Belize between the Sibun and Bladen Rivers while the Manche Chols lived in the rest of the south of Belize.

We are claiming this homeland as a reserve that would guarantee to any Maya a piece of land, Bol said.

## Guatemala

### Defense Minister Says 8 Rebels Surrender

*PA270348 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 0100 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Eight guerrillas who were holding 152 persons hostage in Nebaj, Quiche Department, have accepted amnesty. National Defense Minister Hector Alejandro Gramajo announced this today adding that the Army was not operating in that area. The subversives decided on their own to surrender and bring their hostages with them. General Gramajo said there was no clash. He stated this was a peaceful action.

### Workers Demonstrate Against Power Rate Increase

*PA171709 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala 0400 GMT 14 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] More than 30,000 persons demonstrated this afternoon outside the National Palace. The demonstration was organized by labor unions to protest the increase in electricity rates and other government actions.

The National Police monitored the demonstration. The participants included labor union leaders and bank and insurance company employees, who in the last few days have asked all bank employees to refuse to receive payments of electricity bills from customers to protest against the rate increase.

The demonstrators displayed many posters with slogans against the high cost of living and government policy in general. Policemen used two-way radios to report the proceedings to their headquarters. Unidentified persons spread tacks along the marchers' route before they passed and just as media mobile units were to pass, but just after government television news crews had passed. One of the police cars sent to control the demonstrators broke down, and its passengers had to get out and push it.

Government employees, university students, peasants, and workers participated in the demonstration. The demonstration began at Plaza Italia in front of the Municipal Palace, moved north to 7th Avenue, and ended up at the Central Plaza. The demonstrators, well organized and orderly, began the demonstration at 1600 and arrived at the National Palace at 1800, where they used a flatbed trailer to hold a rally. The labor leaders made serious charges against the government and demanded the elimination of electric power rate hike and controls on staple prices. Most of the speakers were labor leaders who said they will not rest until the government meets their demands. They invited everyone present to hold another demonstration Monday at the same time and place.

The members of the Labor Unity, as the labor leaders are calling the new front, said this was one of the largest demonstrations held in recent times. It was held in an orderly fashion and without incident. [passage omitted]

## Nicaragua

### Further on San Jose Cease-Fire Talks

#### 'Text' of Contra Proposal

*PA282225 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1948 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] San Jose, 28 Jan (DPA)—The following is the complete text of the basic document presented today by the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan Resistance (RN) at the start of today's first face-to-face meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica with the Sandinist government of Nicaragua:

1. The RN believes the basic goal of the Esquipulas II agreement is to simultaneously implement a process of democratization and a cease-fire. This concept is stated in the letter and spirit of Esquipulas II, and its vital importance is reasserted in the "joint declaration" signed by the Central American presidents on 16 January 1988.

2. The RN believes it is essential that during the negotiations scheduled for 28 and 29 January in San Jose, Costa Rica, the belligerent parties must set the places, dates, duration, and agenda of possible new meetings.

Likewise, the negotiations must be carried out through commissions whose official delegates must be Nicaraguans who are duly accredited to the mediator. The parties will freely appoint their respective advisers and determine their participation in the process.

3. The RN's basic principle is that the cease-fire is part of an overall process that includes political-military negotiations. According to Esquipulas II, this must be simultaneously carried out. The simultaneous implementation demands tripartite negotiations between the FSLN, the domestic civilian opposition, and the RN.

4. The RN proposes that:

4.1. New lethal aid approved by the U.S. Congress be held in reserve for 30 days.

4.2. During this period, the Sandinist government will agree with the domestic civilian opposition and the RN on the following:

A. The schedule to implement the demands made by the domestic civilian opposition, including the proposed 17 democratic reforms to the Sandinist Constitution that are demanded by the 14 opposition political parties that are part of the national dialogue and that span the Nicaraguan political spectrum. [The 14 parties have said their proposed reforms aim to] "eliminate the pretexts for violence and war, as well as all foreign interference in all its forms. It is therefore essential to create an authentically democratic, viable, and trustworthy government that ensures effective political participation in all areas of Nicaraguan life. For this to take place, a constitutional reform is needed that eliminates those obstacles to a true democratization. This reform should include methods to create a genuine democratic process such as the following contained in our 17-point proposal:

1. To prohibit the reelection of the president.

2. To prohibit the relatives of the president and vice president to succeed the latter.

3. To prohibit active military personnel from voting and from being elected to public office.

4. To amend the electoral system.

5. To make the judicial branch independent and to establish its exclusive right to its own jurisdiction.

6. To clarify the people's right to own property.

7. To specify the functions of the president.

8. To reform the nature of the Nicaraguan Armed Forces.

9. To reestablish the autonomy of the university.

10. To reestablish the autonomy of municipalities.

11. To make provisions for exemption from military service for conscientious objectors.

12. To refrain from establishing penalties that banish citizens from the country.

13. To clearly establish a differentiation between the EPS, the FSLN, and the state so that none of them can be mistaken for the other.

14. To clearly define immunity.

15. To create an office of the prosecutor for human rights violations.

16. To create a constitutional guarantees tribunal.

17. To do away with the preamble of the Sandinist Constitution.

B. The cease-fire methods, their duration, the specific delimitation of the geographic zones, and measures to fully guarantee the integrity, security, movement, communications, and logistics of the belligerent parties, as well as guaranteeing the defensive capabilities of the parties.

None of the parties can quantitatively or qualitatively improve or increase their positions and weapons. Therefore, all forceful military recruitment will be suspended, the law creating the Sandinist People's Militias will be repealed, and the peasant cooperatives will be demilitarized, thus returning to civilian life all the youths and citizens now in military organizations.

Both parties will take measures to humanize the war with full respect for human rights, including the suspension of indiscriminate bombings and of the use of mines.

4.3. The cease-fire will be effective at the end of the 30-day period mentioned in point 4.1 at the latest, and simultaneously with the implementation of the democratic reforms of point 4.2, paragraph A.

4.4. During the duration of the cease-fire:

A. The Sandinist regime and the RN will establish the mechanisms for a gradual disarmament of both parties. There will be a demobilization and reintegration into civilian life of those in the Armed Forces who so wish. There will also be the immediate repatriation of the foreign military advisers, as well as the formation of a single, voluntary, and apolitical national army. The new National Army will assume the functions of the security services and national police following the reorganization of the Armed Forces. The National Army will be reduced to a level compatible with the country's economic capabilities, with its security needs, and with the necessary balance of forces in Central America.

B. The Central American governments and the Sandinist government will negotiate agreements on security and arms limitation in accordance with Esquipulas II.

4.5. At the end of the period agreed upon for the cease-fire, the measures mentioned in point 4.4 will be implemented.

4.6. If the cease-fire and democratization agreements are not complied with, or if there are reports of the violation of basic rights or freedoms, the provision in point 4.1 on holding U.S. aid in reserve will be null and void.

5. The RN reiterates that a total and unconditional amnesty must be provided to achieve a true national reconciliation and the effective reincorporation of all Nicaraguans into the nation's socioeconomic and political life with absolute freedom and security.

6. The RN once again reiterates its faith in the Esquipulas II agreement—even though its deadlines have expired—and its confidence in the historic responsibility of the democratic presidents of Central America.

28 January 1988, San Jose, Costa Rica

### Government Presents Proposal

*PA290415 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0019 GMT 29 Jan 88*

[Cease-fire proposal presented by the government during direct talks with contra leaders in San Jose, Costa Rica on 28 January]

[Text] 1. The cease-fire is a necessary condition for the fulfillment of the Esquipulas II commitments, to permit, under favorable conditions, the disarmament and peaceful return of irregular forces to national life. Without this, it would be impossible to achieve a firm and lasting peace in Central America.

2. The cease-fire will be for a limited period of time, during which the irregular groups will be located in areas designated for this purpose. The areas are delineated on the attached map [not further specified]. The irregular forces may keep their weapons and ammunition during this period.

The cease-fire would go into effect no later than the agreed-upon time on 15 March and must extend until 15 April.

3. Fifteen days before the cease-fire agreement takes effect (on March 1), EPS troops would halt all offensive operations throughout the country so that the irregular groups can safely move to the cease-fire areas.

4. Once the cease-fire takes effect, a mixed military and technical commission composed of representatives from the EPS and the irregular groups will begin operating in each cease-fire area.

5. Civilian and police authorities reserve the right to move about in the aforementioned zones to carry out their usual duties.

6. Any armed groups or individuals operating outside of the cease-fire zones, or anyone who violates the cease-fire agreement, will be attacked.

7. In keeping with the rules established in paragraph 5 of the Esquipulas II agreement, while the cease-fire is in effect, the irregular forces must "abstain from receiving aid."

8. Supplies such as clothes, food, medicine, and other needs that the irregular forces may have while the cease-fire is in effect may be supplied by or through a neutral organization or institution.

9. Once the deadline agreed upon for the cease-fire is reached, the irregular forces will lay down their arms in the presence of the international commission. It is understood that with this action, they will automatically be covered by the amnesty decreed by the government, and they will be allowed to participate in national political life with the full use of their rights.

10. To guarantee that the organizations or individuals who lay down their weapons or accept amnesty will enjoy those rights and freedoms outlined in the national Constitution, the Nicaraguan Government will form a special international commission that may include the following organizations:

The International Verification and Follow-Up Commission, the UN, the OAS, the Contadora and Support Groups, and the Christian Democratic, Liberal, and Socialist Internationals, as well as the U.S. Republican and Democratic Parties.

11. Once this step has been fulfilled, the irregular forces that request and accept amnesty will be allowed to designate principal, alternate, and advisory delegates to join the national dialogue.

12. The Nicaraguan Government will guide the National Interinstitutional Commission that is in charge of helping individuals or irregular forces who decide to rejoin

Nicaraguan society and political life to do so. The government will allow them to receive assistance from international organizations with experience in this field, and from representatives of the groups that have accepted amnesty.

13. If any Nicaraguans involved in activities with the irregular forces do not wish to return to or remain in the country, the Nicaraguan Government promises to secure aid for them from the international community, including the relevant specialized organizations, for their relocation in other countries.

14. Once the cease-fire is agreed upon and the irregular forces have laid down their arms, accepted amnesty, and rejoined civilian life, the Nicaraguan Government will apply Amnesty Law No 33.

15. The Nicaraguan Government reiterates that the irregular forces which have rejoined civilian life will be allowed to participate with equal conditions and guarantees in the Central American parliament and municipal elections on the dates established for these activities, as well as in national general elections on the dates established by the Constitution.

### 'Clash of Stands' Results

*PA290253 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0051 GMT 29 Jan 88*

[Text] San Jose, 28 Jan (DPA)—A clash of stands resulted in the first round of face-to-face talks between the delegates of the Nicaraguan Government and the RN in San Jose today.

It was the first time the RN and the Nicaraguan Government have talked face-to-face. Msgr Bosco Vivas, auxiliary bishop of Managua; Msgr Carlos Santi, bishop of Matagalpa; and Ariel Ortega, an auxiliary priest, mediated at the meeting since official mediator Msgr Miguel Obando y Bravo is in Rome.

The mediators spoke first with the RN and then separately with the Sandinist Government. Finally, the first joint meeting was held, in which each side outlined its views on bringing peace to Nicaragua.

The RN was represented by Jaime Morales as main spokesman and Roberto Urroz, Fernando Aguero, Commander "Tono," and Commander "Fernando." Its advisers are former foreign ministers Gonzalo Facio (Costa Rica), and Ramon Emilio Jimenez (Dominican Republic).

The Nicaraguan Government delegation consists of Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco as main spokesman. He is accompanied by Oscar Tellez, Roger Perez, Ricardo Wheelock, and two advisers, Hans Juergen Wischnewski, an FRG Social Democrat, and Paul Riechler, a U.S. lawyer.

The stands of the RN and the Nicaraguan Government reportedly clashed from the start of the meeting. Deputy Minister Tinoco presented the proposal of his government, which is based on a cease-fire as a condition for the contras to later accept the general amnesty and become incorporated into Nicaraguan daily life after turning in their weapons.

Jaime Morales, chief of the RN delegation, outlined his position. This was basically that Nicaragua must undergo a democratization in every sense of the word, with convincing proof that this has taken place, and that the cease-fire should occur simultaneously with the democratization.

The two proposals clash on the point that while the Nicaraguan Government maintains it does not need to make democratic reforms since it is already a democratic government, the RN listed 17 points on which this democratization should be based. The RN reiterated through Morales that the country must be democratized in accordance with the provisions of Esquipulas II. That document signed by the five Central American presidents on 7 August in Guatemala City and ratified in Costa Rica on 16 January.

Tinoco did not accept the RN proposal on democratization. He instead insisted on the cease-fire and the plan proposed by his government.

Other differences emerged between the Nicaraguan Government and the RN over the method of reaching a possible cease-fire in Nicaragua.

Deputy Minister Tinoco told newsmen that "the contras must accept the amnesty provided for in Esquipulas II" and added that "the Nicaraguan Government is operating within the Esquipulas II framework." He warned that "the Nicaraguan Government will not change due to a cease-fire. The way to change a government is through elections."

Jaime Morales, head of the RN delegation, stated: "The cease-fire is part of a lengthy process. There must first be democratization, and the domestic opposition in Nicaragua must be taken into account in a dialogue. A great government of national unity can be achieved only through democratization."

Msgr Vivas, who is the main mediator, said the talks will continue tomorrow. "Our mission is mediation. We have achieved something very worthwhile by bringing the two sides together. This deserves general recognition, because it represents real progress," Msgr Vivas added.

### Contra Proposal 'Unacceptable'

*PA291428 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 88*

[Text] The proposal the Sandinist government issued within the framework of the Esquipulas II accords was answered by the contras with unacceptable demands.

Msgr Bosco Vivas, the auxiliary archbishop of Managua and alternate [mediator] for Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo—who is currently in Rome—presided over the first round of direct talks held in San Jose, Costa Rica between a Nicaraguan Government delegation and the contras, who in fact represent the Reagan administration.

The government proposal was presented by Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco, the head of the delegation. This proposal states that a cease-fire can be implemented by decreeing a limited truce, during which the mercenary forces will position themselves in previously agreed upon zones. Once this is achieved, a mixed military-technical commission will begin to discuss a definite agreement. The Nicaraguan Government will not accept the contras continuing to receive any type of direct support while negotiations are under way. This is the central issue of the 15-point document that the revolutionary government presented.

Following the first meeting yesterday, Deputy Foreign Minister Tinoco stated that the contra delegation should show an open mind since its demands are unacceptable. The contras demand a change of structures within the EPS, a political dialogue with the participation of political parties, and a group of reforms to the political Constitution of the Republic. All of these lie outside the framework of Esquipulas II.

The talks will continue this morning at a seminary in San Jose.

## Ortega Views 'Pluralism,' Opposition, Army

*PM281204 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish*
*22 Jan 88 pp 5-7*

[Interview with President Daniel Ortega by Pedro J. Ramirez on 15 January on the Managua-San Jose Road]

[Text] [Ramirez] A recent statement you made prompted a major controversy. You said that if the Sandinistas lose the elections, they will relinquish the government but not power....

[Ortega] No political party, however small, proceeds from the premise that it will lose an election. The Sandinist Front is the leading force in Nicaragua, and I am certain that it will not lose. What I said is that a party or a president is not the possessor of power. Power lies with the people. So, if you do not possess power it is difficult for you to relinquish it. You can relinquish the government but you cannot relinquish power, and this is a basic principle of democracy. A people can even bring down a government at any time. If the Nicaraguan people wanted to change the government, they could do so now, because they have the means to do it.

[Ramirez] What does this mean? That if you lose there will be a rising of the people?

[Ortega] The day we lose we will go into opposition. However, I am sure that the Nicaraguan people would not tolerate the new government's implementation of measures that conflict with the revolutionary changes carried out in Nicaragua. For instance, the people would not tolerate the government starting to deprive the peasants of their land to return it to the landowners. This is just as if a government in Spain that differs from the present one was to win the elections and wanted a return to Francoism—the people would not tolerate this, and the opposition forces would have to support the people. Or, for example, if Mr Jack Kemp won the elections in the United States and tried to restore racial discrimination, I am sure he would have to face a rising of the people. This is what I was referring to: No matter who wins the elections, the Nicaraguan people will not allow fundamental changes of a structural nature....

[Ramirez] Would you envisage a people's rising in Nicaragua in such a case?

[Ortega] We would support the positions of the people. We would be with the people, which is the obligation of every opposition party.

[Ramirez] What is the inspiration for your "Nicaraguan-style democracy"? Now that we are in the country, what is your opinion of Costa Rica and its great prosperity?

[Ortega] In Latin America, we are acceding to democracy by various different paths. In Uruguay, for instance, it is by means of a pact with and concessions to the military. The military also has to be taken into account in Argentina. The same is true in Brazil....

[Ramirez] Of course, this problem does not exist in Nicaragua because you are the military....

[Ortega] In Central America, also, democracy is being reached via different paths. In Costa Rica, democracy was attained in the forties thanks to the revolution of Pepe Figueres, which is what granted this country stability.... The same historical circumstances did not take place in the other countries. On the contrary, Nicaragua's situation is fairly similar to that of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. The United States forged military dictatorships in these countries. The injustice of these regimes prompted social explosions and, in Nicaragua's case, revolutionary changes. The Nicaraguan people found no other solution than violent change.

[Ramirez] Do you consider the Cuban regime democratic?

[Ortega] The Cuban regime emerged under geopolitical conditions very different from those of Central America. The only path left open to the Cubans for achieving democracy, justice, and freedom was the path that they took. However, that path was valid for Cuba, and it was the product of the historical circumstances under which it had to conduct its revolution.

[Ramirez] You are not unaware, however, that there are sectors within the Sandinist Front that would like the Nicaraguan model to resemble Cuba's....

[Ortega] We went through a fervent period in the sixties; and when I say "we," I include myself. That period was characterized by respect and admiration for Fidel Castro. We were 14 or 15 years old, and Fidel's or Che's influence was huge throughout Latin America. It was believed that revolutions were just around the corner, that it was enough to rally a dozen men together and make for the hills, and that you would emerge victorious. That process was the result of a strong desire for freedom and an ignorance of Cuba's history—which is so different from that of the rest of Latin America. It was believed that socialism had to be built just as was being done in Cuba. This phase was transcended by the Sandinist Front during its very first years. The Sandinist Front forged a very realistic stand that took account of the actual situation in Nicaragua. From the outset, a mixed economy, political pluralism, and nonalignment became the cornerstones of our government platform.

[Ramirez] Do you believe in pluralism?

[Ortega] We are willing to have the opposition be able to express itself, and we proceed from the following principle: If we put an end to pluralism and to the opportunity for the forces that are in opposition to, or at least disagree with, the revolution, to express themselves through the media, we would be creating a smokescreen around the real underlying situation. After all, ideology resides within the individual. You cannot wrest it from there, however much you restrict its expression....

[Ramirez] This does not seem to relate very much to Marxism-Leninism....

[Ortega] Well, I believe that it does relate to it. Marxism-Leninism provided no rules in this matter. Marxism-Leninism was a very general guide, one that you have to consider along with the specific circumstances of each country. It is not a matter of doing what Lenin did. Following Lenin's example means seeking the answers for your own situation. In my situation, I must realize that people have their own ideas and that it is best to let them express them for the sake of an open ideological battle. This benefits the people and the revolutionary process. If you do otherwise, you risk paralysis and collapse.

[Ramirez] Are you not afraid that the sectors within the Sandinist Front that interpret Marxism-Leninism most rigidly will feel cheated and accuse the government of betraying the revolution?

[Ortega] We maintain good relations with revolutionary governments. I have spoken with Fidel Castro many times, and he believes what we are doing is correct. He respects and supports what we are doing. I have spoken with Soviet leaders, including Gorbachev, and the same is true. I mean... the world's revolutionary leaders support the process under way in Nicaragua. I would say that our disagreements are there in Nicaragua, with certain groups....

[Ramirez] That is what I was referring to....

[Ortega] No, no. It is with groups that do not belong to the Sandinist Front—groups that have Trotskiyite tendencies, or others that claim to be Marxist-Leninist or communist.... In fact, there are two parties there that challenge the Nicaraguan revolution. This is because they claim it is not a real revolution, that we have capitulated to the bourgeoisie, to imperialism.... They do not understand the peace effort in Central America, they say that Esquipulas, Contadora, the "Support Group", and all this is interventionism. They are terribly dogmatic. They want to conduct the revolution in Nicaragua as Lenin did, but they forget that in Nicaragua there is no snow, no Winter Palace, no "Aurora".... That is how dogmatic those people are!

[Ramirez] Are there sectors within the Sandinist Front that think the same way?

[Ortega] No, there are not. I can assure you that there are no such tendencies within the Sandinist Front.

[Ramirez] What is your opinion of the principle of non-reelection that very diverse sectors of the domestic opposition are asking you to introduce into the Constitution?

[Ortega] It is an attempt to limit the freedom of the Nicaraguan people to choose whomever they wish. In Europe, there is Mrs Thatcher who has held several terms of office. There is Felipe in Spain; and President Reagan has been in office for two terms, and has even said that he will fight for the removal of restrictions on reelection in the United States....

[Ramirez] In your more immediate neighborhood, however, in Costa Rica and Mexico, non-reelection is a traditional instrument to counter the abuses of those in power....

[Ortega] There is a trend toward a break with this in Latin America. It has been attempted in Argentina and Peru. The problem is that a government program cannot be implemented in the short term, but only in the medium term. Elections become a wrangle in which the opposition tries to negate everything, which undermines the nation's economic stability. This must be borne in mind....

[Ramirez] Would you like to be reelected several times?

[Ortega] I will be frank: I am here to perform a task assigned to me by the party. It is a difficult task. Do not believe that it is a very pleasant one. It is an exhausting

task. For me, it was easier to be a guerrilla than a president. However, I respect party discipline, and I will do not what I want to but instead what I am instructed to do.

[Ramirez] Another of the opposition's demands is....

[Ortega] If you are asking me what I would like to do.... Listen, right now I would like to be working in the fields and writing.... That's what....

[Ramirez] Like Alfonso Guerra [Spanish deputy prime minister].

[Ortega] Ha, ha.... Don't tell me he says that, too....

[Ramirez] The opposition's other demand is for a greater separation between the state, the party, and the Army....

[Ortega] We cannot ignore what has happened in Nicaragua. We are not soldiers but politicians, although we did have to take up arms. The new Army had to be built using politicians. Our Army is a politicized army. To think in terms of an unpoliticized army actually conflicts with human rights.

[Ramirez] But even the police force is called the Sandinist Police, and the television service is called Sandinist Television....

[Ortega] Sandinism is a national moral strength. Sandino is synonymous with Nicaragua....

[Ramirez] There may be Nicaraguans, however, who do not consider themselves Sandinistas. Should they therefore be excluded from their homeland?

[Ortega] Well, in the United States, too, there must be citizens who do not identify with their national heroes, but they are exceptions. A national hero is a banner raised aloft by the entire people.

[Ramirez] But their police force is not named for [George] Washington, and neither is the Democratic Party....

[Ortega] Sandino is omnipresent here. Sandino is the history of Nicaragua, of the struggle against intervention; he is the symbol of self-determination....

[Ramirez] If the whole of Nicaragua espouses Sandino's legacy, then why is there a party that seeks to derive exclusive [political] capital from it?

[Ortega] Well, the Front led the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship and raised aloft the figure of Sandino, which had been buried by the oligarchical parties. However, although LA PRENSA's editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, who was assassinated by Somoza, was not a member of the Front, he was a Sandinista.

[Ramirez] Since you mention LA PRENSA, what is your opinion of it since its reappearance?

[Ortega] I regard LA PRENSA as more and more of a mouthpiece of the contras, and of the U.S. Administration that entirely ignores the crimes endured by the Nicaraguan people. They do not consider these crimes to be newsworthy.

[Ramirez] Could the opinion you have just expressed have any impact on LA PRENSA?

[Ortega] The only impact I can foresee would be determined by the Nicaragua people. Back in 1981, there was a demonstration in front of the offices of LA PRENSA, and shots were fired on the demonstrators from inside LA PRENSA.

[Ramirez] Is your government considering closing the newspaper again?

[Ortega] If the United States approves more aid for the contras, we will have to declare a state of emergency, with all that it entails, which would include the censorship of LA PRENSA. LA PRENSA has said that it would not publish if it were censored. If it stands by this, then LA PRENSA would cease to appear, but we would not close it down.

[Ramirez] Do you believe it was a mistake to close down LA PRENSA 1 and 1/2 years ago? Has there been any self-criticism?

[Ortega] No, that was a correct decision, because it came the day after the U.S. Congress approved aid to the contras.

[Ramirez] But now you say you would not close it down....

[Ortega] The Esquipulas accords and the pledges that Nicaragua has undertaken must be taken into account.... Without the Esquipulas agreement, LA PRENSA would not have reopened.

[Ramirez] What exactly did your brother, Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega, mean when he spoke of building a 600,000-strong Army?

[Ortega] I talked with him about what he was goint to say before he made that statement. I was there. He did not say we were going to create a 600,000-strong Army, because if he had, he would have been crazy. What we said was that the policy we are pursuing is somewhat similar to that pursued by a country such as Israel, for example. In Israel, everyone is on the reserve list up to the age of 60, I believe. Everyone is organized for the defense of their workplace. The situation in Nicaragua is that of a small country which has been attacked by a major power. We do not have the resources to maintain a huge Army; our Army can never exceed 60,000-80,000

men. This is why we have to organize the people for defense, and this is what we are referring to when we speak in terms of 600,000 men.

[Ramirez] Would Patriotic Military Service cease if peace were established?

[Ortega] No, it would have no reason to cease.

[Ramirez] There did not use to be obligatory military service in Nicaragua.

[Ortega] That is because Somoza was afraid of giving the people weapons. Military service exists in many of the world's countries, and we see no reason to eliminate it in Nicaragua.

[Ramirez] Your Army is larger than those of all the other countries of the region combined.

[Ortega] That is because our enemy, namely the United States, is larger, too.

[Ramirez] Over the years, have you ever felt that you were in the position of Salvador Allende?

[Ortega] Never. The difference stems from the fact that here the people are able to defend themselves. In Chile, the people were defenseless, and the weapons were possessed by those who later staged the coup. Actually, the example of Chile makes me more confident. Despite the U.S. campaign against Salvador Allende, when municipal elections were held amid a severe economic crisis and with EL MERCURIO working for the CIA, the vote of the Popular Unity increased. That is why they staged the coup, because they knew that the government enjoyed the confidence of the people. The Nicaraguan people are as heroic as the Chilean people, but they also have the weapons. The arms here are not held by Pinochet, which is why "Chileization" is unlikely to succeed in Nicaragua.

[Ramirez] Was the Sandinist Front not mistaken in acting as it did during the pope's visit?

[Ortega] Not at all. It was the pope who made a mistake. When he arrived in Nicaragua, he made an open criticism when he said that thousands of Nicaraguans had not been allowed to come to meet him.... He sought confrontation from the outset. Our remarks did not seek confrontation, however. Then he passed down the line of ministers, and Father Cardenal, in a gesture of Christian humility, knelt before the pope to kiss his hand. The pope pulled his hand away, thereby attracting attention by his un-Christian gesture.

Then what happened at the event in the square? The right-wing parties wanted to turn it into a political event against the revolution. We had informed Nicaraguan Christians, who are Sandinists, that we did not want any political slogans, that this was a religious event. What happened? When the pope began his speech—one that was tough and confrontational with regard to the revolution—there were mothers there with pictures of their children, Christian mothers, Roman Catholic and apostolic mothers, mothers who had until then believed in and adored the pope, including my own mother. They began asking him: "Holy Father, a prayer for our children." Did it show a lack of respect? It was as though the pope had not heard them. It would have been enough for him to say a few words to win over the entire people. Then people started saying: "We want peace." Eventually—and this is on tape—the pope shouted: "Silence!" It was a terrible shout. People were surprised, but they continued shouting. They began shouting to the pope again. Yes, the pope made a mistake, because it would have been enough for him to mention "Nicaragua's dead," without mentioning the revolution or the counterrevolution. Instead, he caused frustration and disappointment in thousands of Nicaraguans, who then ceased to believe in the pope. Of course, the fact that they ceased to believe in him does not mean that they do not believe in Christ, because Nicaraguans are good Christians.

[Ramirez] Are you satisfied with your relations with Spain?

[Ortega] Relations with Spain have always been very good. We have encountered much understanding on the part of the Spanish Government. We always speak absolutely frankly with both Prime Minister Gonzalez—Felipe—and with Deputy Prime Minister Guerra. They point out to us what is wrong, because they possess the moral authority with respect to the Nicaraguan people to do so. We explain to them those things that we consider necessary to explain.

[Ramirez] What specific things have they pointed out to you that they considered to be wrong?

[Ortega] They could not understand the LA PRENSA affair, for instance. They advised us to conduct a dialogue. The measures later included in the Esquipulas accords were always recommended to us by Felipe and Alfonso. We agreed, but at that time we lacked the political leeway to implement the measures.

[Ramirez] If you were a Spaniard, would you belong to the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]?

[Ortega] Ha, ha.... I do not want to take sides in Spanish politics.

[Ramirez] Have you ever discussed ideology with Felipe and Alfonso?

[Ortega] Yes, of course we have. Nicaragua's blueprint has many points in common with that of the PSOE, from an ideological viewpoint.

[Ramirez] Former Spanish Ambassador Baselga has repeatedly accused you in the conservative press of having aided the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] in the past.

[Ortega] Yes, Baselga Mantecon.... It is said that that gentleman was a policeman during the Franco era, and that several deaths took place in his area. This must be investigated. This is what has been said....

[Ramirez] What is the truth of his charges? ETA people have been here, have they not?

[Ortega] Thousands of people come to Nicaragua. However, it is not the policy of the Nicaraguan Government to support armed groups.

[Ramirez] Do you see anything in common between the struggle of the Sandinist Front and that of the ETA or the IRA?

[Ortega] There is a common denominator: the ETA and the IRA are employing the armed struggle. The question with the armed struggle is how and when. This is something that must be considered in each instance. I have found that the armed struggle of the IRA is explicable, that it has a basis and a foundation. In the ETA's case, I have found an armed struggle which, although it may have a foundation from the historical, national, and social viewpoints, has manifestations, forms, and methods that I would consider to be counterproductive. As a revolutionary movement, we never carried out some of the types of actions that they have claimed responsibility for.

[Ramirez] How do you feel, Mr President, considering that 10 years ago you were firing weapons or still in prison?

[Ortega] No, 10 years ago I was fighting.

[Ramirez] Did you believe that some day you would be the Nicaraguan president?

[Ortega] No. I was always optimistic and believed that I would achieve victory, but I never believed I would experience this victory. I never believed it.

## Spain's Gonzalez Offers Dinner Toast to Ortega

*PA282025 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0255 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Toast by Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez at a 26 January dinner with President Daniel Ortega in Madrid—recorded]

[Text] Mr President, Mrs Ortega, dear friends of the visiting Nicaraguan delegation: I would like to make a toast, or a brief statement. Most of all, I want to treat you as my friends. After your trip, it is best to let you rest. However, I first want to tell you how pleased we are to have you here. Sometimes, this is said when the occasion calls for it, but this is not just a formality. I say this to express a warm welcome.

Moreover, I do not want to let this toast go by without telling you some of the things that come to mind due to our recent experiences and your current trip to Spain. I will start by saying, as I have said before, that I am one of those people who think that Nicaragua, as well as other Central American countries, has paid too high a price in terms of the lives and blood of many men, women, and children not to deserve to live in peace. If peace truly had a price, these people then have paid a very high price.

I approach Nicaragua's problems not with empty words, but with strong feelings that sometimes cause me to be annoyed with some of the people I talk to. They think of the Central American situation as a low-intensity or low-profile war. They think of the Nicaraguan or Central American situation as a romantic one, and they view the revolutionary process as if it were a movie. They view with fondness a distant revolution that is sometimes bloody and difficult. However, they do not want its difficulties, cruelty, and sacrifice.

I am always very estranged from those two stances. I always feel the cost of human lives or the sacrifice of a child is terribly important, and I cannot view it with the distant romanticism of the person who thinks of the revolutionary process as a movie. Nor can I view it with the even more distant coldness of the person who thinks that a controlled conflict, within certain boundaries, can be tolerated for a long time or even indefinitely.

Of course, people looking at this situation from the outside will always say this, even well-intentioned people who view the situation romantically. There are ill-intentioned people who make purely strategic and harshly political calculations. They believe that low-intensity conflicts and tensions can be tolerated for a long time. However, the (?insurgency) has claimed tens of thousands of human lives. Some people speak of 50,000 or 60,000 lives. In all of Central America, 200,000 people have paid the terrible price. They have sacrificed their lives in a process that is extraordinarily difficult and dramatic.

I think the first conclusion is that any effort for peace deserves decisive support. This support must be unconditional; it must be total. The day before yesterday, Comrade [Daniel Ortega] said: I think peace is not enough; it is a necessary condition, but it is not enough. Any obstacle to peace in countries that have paid such a high price up to this point must, of course, be opposed. We must try to overcome and denounce any obstacles.

Therefore, the first approach to the problem—a rational approach rather than an emotional one—is to see that Central America deserves peace. It deserves peace now.

However, this is not the only condition; it is merely a necessary condition. Admittedly, the cause of this situation is not just what we are seeing now. These are problems caused by very unjust social structures. These are problems caused by underdevelopment and the difficulties of development. However, it is not a contradiction or counterproductive to continue saying that a climate of peace must be achieved. In this respect, for many years we have been supporting the great efforts of the Contadora and Support Groups. We have supported these because they are a regional effort. They respond to a regional problem. I believe this is a good approach, and we continue to support it.

When Costa Rican President Arias visited us, he conveyed his views on ways to promote the peace plan within the spirit of the Contadora Group. We are trying to do what we can within our modest means. We offer not only political support, but also to serve as a sounding board, to exert influence, to try to present the problem to Europe, and to try to make our voice heard.

Summing up events, we have continued along that line. We have tried to strengthen the peace effort. Based on that premise, we have repeatedly rejected anything that abets war or fosters any permanence of the climate of tension that is causing an extraordinary toll in human lives; an unbearable economic cost; and suffering, underdevelopment, subsistence economies, spiraling inflation, and so forth.

This was the situation when finally last summer, after all the efforts—efforts worthy of the greatest support—of the Contadora and Support Groups, the Central American presidents sat down and reached an agreement. Those of us who had been skeptical because decisive steps, such as the signing of an agreement, had not been taken, now view the agreement with optimism. It is a step toward peace.

We have always rejected aid; it is an ambiguous and contradictory word, because it maintains tension. We still reject it today. We reject aid even beyond the framework of our principle of nonintervention, because we do not want intervention in Central America, much less an intervention that encourages—anywhere in Central America—the continuation of a climate of confrontation and civil war. Consequently, we reject a continuing climate of war. Now, with much more reason—such as the Esquipulas II meeting—we have to reject any measure or accord that continues to encourage confrontations in these countries and between different states.

This has been a concrete step—a measure of extraordinary importance in the quest for peace. Months after that step was taken, there was another meeting of the Central American presidents in Costa Rica. And now we have the occasion and good fortune to be able to hear President Ortega directly. We have already heard Presidents Arias, Cerezo, and Duarte, and in a few months we will also have President Azcona here.

We have this occasion to receive President Ortega, who will explain to us how he interprets the steps that have been taken, what Nicaragua wants, and what it is willing to do. He has stated this publicly, so it is no secret. He has stated publicly that they are willing to make an effort to grant amnesty. I know what that means. They are also disposed toward making an effort toward political dialogue on one hand, and toward direct dialogue with the contras to stop the war on the other.

It certainly is an attitude that brings honor to the Nicaraguan Government, and we want to encourage it. We want to help secure, realize, and develop this attitude.

I want to say with this toast, I want to state clearly, that President Ortega has asked us, should it be necessary, to participate in verifying [compliance with] the agreements, as Canada has already offered to do. I insist that there should be a regional answer to the regional conflict, and that regional mechanisms are very adequate. However, I also say that if the Central American presidents and governments—with which we maintain close relations—want us to join in the regional efforts, and not act as an alternative or substitute in the verification of the peace accords, Spain is willing to assist in verification.

And President Ortega adds that even if there were not enough agreements on verification, Nicaragua would want to conduct its own effort for peace in Nicaragua, in accordance with the Esquipulas accords, and that it would want Spain to participate in verifying its commitments to a cease-fire, the development of peace, and the resumption of political negotiations that will fully guarantee a framework of pluralism and liberty. Our answer, again, is the same. We want to participate in support of what the Contadora Group—the four countries supporting Contadora, plus the regional organizations—desires to do regionally. Moreover, we wish to display our readiness to join in that effort and to say so publicly. I would say this to the other Central American presidents that I will have the opportunity to speak with personally in the coming months or by telephone in the next few days.

I will tell them we believe this will and should take place under the proposed terms, and also reiterate something that is not new: that we are opposed to aid being approved to maintain the struggle in Nicaragua, to support what is commonly known as the counterrevolution. We are opposed to the approval or granting of any type of aid to maintain the war. We wish to state clearly and publicly that we would regard it as a positive step in favor of peace if the U.S. Congress should decide to provide a political opening to allow the Esquipulas accords to be complied with.

I repeat, beyond declarations of principles that continue to be very important, respect for the rules of international behavior—the body of international law given any situation or circumstance—is fundamental to advancing on the path toward world peace.

At this juncture, I would like our calls for breakthroughs in consolidating peace and a climate of coexistence to be heard.

I would have stated all that I had to say at this meeting, but perhaps an old relationship, a friendly one, will permit me to say something more. I was in Managua 1 week after the fall of Somoza. I want to say that I was not dressed as a guerrilla. Others arrived shortly after or at the same time that I did, and they did dress like guerrillas. Somoza had already left, and I was never tempted to dress that way. I was dressed in civilian clothes, as befits me, to greet the triumph of the revolution and the fall of Somoza. That was 1 week after the fall of Somoza. Ever since then, I have been faithful to my commitments. I have always believed and still believe that the Nicaraguan revolution should be pluralist and democratic. When a mixed economy is added as a commitment, it is true that a mixed economy does not guarantee democracy. However, it is also true that there can be no democratic system without a mixed economy. This should be made very clear. If we asked Chile whether its mixed economy guarantees democracy, the answer would be no, as was the case of Spain in the past. But it is also true that Spain's was a democratic system with [words indistinct] competence, and a free market.

I have always been faithful to this view. Many times before he was president, and now that he is president, Daniel would tell me that my loyalty to this idea is born of my convictions—of my convictions as a person and as a citizen.

These convictions, which are now part of my responsibility as head of state, lead me to a conclusion that continues in this direction and goes a step further. I want for the Nicaraguan people what I want for my own people. This expresses my feelings of fraternity and solidarity. For my own people, I want development, social justice, and the complete development of liberty and democracy. I also told Danny in these private talks [words indistinct] something that is important from my point of view. The democratic will to live in freedom, with a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, does not change for anything. It is the will to serve the people.

Perhaps this has not been said yet, but I will express my deep belief. Once armed struggle defeated a dictator: Somoza. My deep belief is that Daniel should be in a position to win at the polls. This has been my deep belief time and time again, and I have often expressed it to him. There is nothing to give in exchange. Nothing! Democracy is not loose change. That is why the latest decision to relax and hold a political dialogue is not and should not come as the result of any tactical solution or any sort of pressure. It should come as the result of a service rendered to one's own people. I am sure that Daniel fully agrees with me. I am also convinced that one cannot ask a country hounded by war and interventionist meddling to maintain the same rules—while it is being hounded—as a country living in peace and not hounded by anything or anyone.

This has happened in every war and every acute crisis. However, I believe we must correct the arguments and comments made abroad. I honestly and sincerely believe this, for I favor peace. There are no conditions in this struggle for peace, for our peace. Regardless of the existing political situation, I prefer peace to maintaining a confrontation. I have no interest in interfering with a right that I respect and defend; namely, the right of each people to self-determination. In this case, it is the right of the Nicaraguan people to self-determination, just like any other Central American people.

My solidarity with peace will not break under any circumstances. I want peace. My solidarity with an undertaking that has an extraordinary number of hopes has not changed. I believe the Nicaraguan revolution is an example that needs to be fulfilled; that is, the example of a revolution that triumphed through armed struggle and through elections in a climate of peaceful and sincere competition. Because I believe in this, I want to reiterate this here tonight. I want to reiterate it due to the criticism that one hears, some unjustified and some of which no doubt is justified. However, this sometimes happens in Spain. For that reason, I do not want you to worry too much when you hear some warped opinions.

Some groups in Spain sometimes lose not only the sense of reality but also some sense of independence, which is something that has not been lost even in Spain's darkest hours. I want to maintain those [word indistinct] and that sense of my country's independence and sovereignty, even during difficult situations, which is something that is not the case now.

Therefore, today I am not only pleased to receive Daniel Ortega and the Nicaraguan delegation, but as a Spaniard, I am proud to be receiving a Latin American who, in my view, is also a Hispanic American who shares many things with me. Among other things, we share history and common blood. Sometimes there can be differences, coolness, or discussions, while other times there can be [word indistinct] and cooperation. However, you are definitely our brothers. Whatever the [word indistinct], I am one who will never yield to the temptation of making a distinction to the detriment of those who share my historical, cultural, and blood roots. If others do so, that is up to them. I am very clear about this. This is so clear that I must tell you again tonight: Feel at home, for you are among brothers. When there is agreement, solidarity, or disagreement, it is deeply fraternal. We therefore welcome you now and always. You are welcome in a sister country, in a country that considers your problems its own. You are welcomed by a government that honestly wishes to find a way to achieve peace, and especially, if this is possible—and I hope it is—a way to freedom, prosperity, and justice. Welcome, and thank you very much.

### Chamorro on U.S. 'Advisers' Aiding Contras

*PA261616 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1257 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Madrid, 26 Jan (EFE)—Joaquin Chamorro, a leader of the Nicaraguan anti-Sandinists, today admitted there are U.S. advisers among the "contra" forces in Honduras.

In statements made in Costa Rica to the Spanish Radio Cope, Chamorro refused to specify the number of these advisers, but he noted that "at any rate, the figure is much less than the Cuban, Soviet, Bulgarian, East German, and similar advisers that the Sandinists have."

As for the visit of the Nicaraguan president to Spain that begins today, Chamorro commented that "the dictator Ortega is seeking aid from the democratic countries in order to consolidate totalitarianism in Nicaragua. I do not believe the Spanish are going to cooperate with a dictator they would not like to have in their own country."

### Announces Accepting Amnesty

*PA290448 Managua Radio Noticias in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Report by Juan Alberto Enriquez]]

[Text] Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro, a former contra leader who worked with Eden Pastora in southern Nicaragua, on the border with Costa Rica, will accept the amnesty. He told the Costa Rican press that the future of the counterrevolutionaries is to accept the amnesty offered by the Sandinist government and to wage a civilian struggle in Nicaragua.

Chamorro said he will join the organizations that comprise the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordination Board. In this way, another of the high-ranking counterrevolutionary leaders has expressed his disillusionment with military activity despite the millions of dollars in U.S. financing.

### Wheelock on Regional Contra Radio Stations

*PA281340 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 27 Jan 88 pp 1, 16*

[Text] One of the crew members from the counterrevolutionary aircraft shot down a few days ago could be a U.S. citizen. To us, this is not just a possibility; we are sure of it. However, we do not want to state this flatly, because some of the bodies were burned beyond recognition, Major Ricardo Wheelock, head of the Sandinist military intelligence, has stated.

Wheelock told Radio Sandino that an investigation of this incident is continuing. The Sandinist authorities are searching for documents that must be lying around somewhere in the area, and for four individuals who parachuted when the plane was hit by EPS fire.

Wheelock noted that this is the largest of the mercenary aircraft downed so far. The plane is a four-engined DC-6, with a capacity of more than 25,000 pounds and considerable range, the officer said.

He also noted that more than 200 flights have taken place from Honduras and other countries since 7 August, when the Central American presidents signed the Esquipulas agreement.

He added that spy planes are used to pinpoint the position of Sandinist forces, map Nicaraguan territory, and relay the information to the FDN.

Wheelock said these tactical flights cover the border. More than 500 of these flights have been observed since the agreement was signed.

RC-135's, C-130's, U-2's, and other aircraft fly over Nicaraguan territory from Honduras and even from the United States.

Maj Wheelock yesterday also reported the existence of an entire communications system belonging to the counterrevolutionaries. This network has been established in several Central American countries.

He specified that the contras have been using El Cisne Island in Honduras and that between 20 and 30 CIA members, all of them U.S. citizens, carry out direct military operations against Nicaragua from there.

After referring to Palmerola and El Aguacate as contra bases, the officer stated that one of the contras' radio stations is part of a network known as the RN [Nicaraguan Resistance] Radio Network, which broadcasts on a shortwave frequency from Honduras.

In this country, there is also an FDN staff communications center, the strategic command of Enrique Bermudez; and the operations center of the El Aguacate command.

El Cisne Island is home to both the FDN and the CIA communications centers. Another communications center—which links up with the 6th Battalion of the Honduran Army's 110th Infantry Brigade and is based in Danli, El Paraiso Department—serves as a liaison and coordinates the movements to and from the contra bases.

In addition, the Yatama organization has a communications center in Tegucigalpa and a number of bases at the border. It operates in close coordination with the 5th Battalion of the 110th Infantry Brigade.

As for El Salvador, Maj Wheelock said a radio station known as Radio Liberacion broadcasts from this country daily. The station is based on the outskirts of San Salvador, and its studios are located at a Salvadoran Army military base.

A large number of radio stations and aids for the contras also exist in Costa Rica. In San Jose, there is a radio station that broadcasts toward Nicaragua on a shortwave frequency daily. This station is part of this contra network.

There are two more stations in northern Costa Rica. These stations coordinate operations and a number of FDN and ARDE criminal activities. The paper LA VOZ DE NICARAGUA LIBRE is printed in San Jose by LA NACION newspaper and is distributed throughout Central America, thus violating the Esquipulas agreement.

The officer said that although it is true the Costa Rican Government is unaware of these activities, the Sandinists must report them since they violate the Esquipulas agreement. "These facts indicate to us that the U.S. Government is determined to continue waging war against us."

Another radio station operating from Costa Rica is Radio Liberacion, the voice of UNO [Unity of Nicaraguan Opposition]. This station is located in San Jose and broadcasts daily on a fixed frequency. There is a radio station located in the southern part of San Jose. There is also a communications center that coordinates the FDN and ARDE military operations and criminal actions in southern Nicaragua, Wheelock said.

Moreover, there are two communications centers 14 km southeast of Los Chiles, and still another at Boca de San Carlos, Costa Rica.

The Sandinist officer noted that Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador can demonstrate their goodwill and peaceful spirit.

### KISAN Disavows Talks by Brooklyn Rivera

*PA271450 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1643 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] San Jose, 26 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—A Nicaraguan Indian organization linked to the "contras" has disavowed the negotiations of Miskito leader Brooklyn Rivera with the Nicaraguan Government to pacify the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast.

Rivera, leader of the "Yatama" [Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians, and Creole Groups Organization] has been exiled in Costa Rica for the past 5 years. He and his large entourage arrived in Managua Saturday [23 January] for talks with Nicaraguan officials, including Minister of Interior Tomas Borge.

The rebel leader and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega agreed on Rivera's return to Nicaragua in the 16 January Costa Rican meeting held within the framework of the third "summit" of the Central American presidents.

"KISAN" [Unity of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast Indigenous Peoples], another Indian group allied to the Nicaraguan Resistance (RN), today refused to acknowledge Rivera and his group in "any negotiations they make in the name of the Indian struggle and the suffering people" of Nicaragua.

In a paid advertisement in a local newspaper, the rebel group calls Rivera's actions "surrender and treason" when he "attempts to usurp the activities of the Miskitos, Sumus, Ramas, Creoles and Spanish-speaking Indians"—ethnic groups of the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast—by negotiating with the Sandinist government.

The ad points out that Rivera "again betrays the Indian cause and the just cause of the Nicaraguan people by negotiating behind the RN's back." The advertisement also notes that Rivera's trip is a product of "personal ambition," since the Sandinists "have offered him the government of the Atlantic coast."

"KISAN" renews its support for the RN's struggle—since it considers the RN struggle to be the "only alternative for solving Indian rights within a democratic autonomy"—and for the initiative of President Oscar Arias "to stop violence, death, mourning, arrests, and pain" in Nicaragua. The communique is signed by "KISAN" Directors Francisco Walter, Rafael and Eduardo Zelaya, and Sumo Indian leader Yutan Lopez.

In 1985, Rivera and Nicaraguan authorities held several rounds of talks. These were broken off in January 1986 when he cited a lack of willingness on the part of the Nicaraguan Government to find an in-depth solution to the problem of Atlantic coast Indians who had taken up arms.

### Government Amends Law on Appeals Courts

*PA270356 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Decree No 300: "Amendment to the Law That Created the Courts of Appeal"]

[Text] With the powers vested in him, the president of the Republic of Nicaragua decrees:

Article 1: Article 2 is hereby amended as follows: Article 2: In Regions 1, 5, and 6, as well as in special zones 1 and 2, there will be a court of appeals made up of three members. These will be three lawyers, including a court president, who will be appointed by the Supreme Court. In Regions 2 and 4, there will be a court of appeals made up of five members. All of these will be lawyers who will work in two divisions to hear civil and criminal suits. These divisions will have the same president that will be appointed by the Supreme Court.

Article 2: Article 3 is amended as follows: Article 3: For the courts in Regions 1, 5, and 6, and special zones 1 and 2, as well as the chamber of the court in Region 3, a

quorum of two members will be required to issue a ruling. For the courts in Regions 2 and 4, a quorum of three members is required to issue a ruling. The provisions of the present law will apply in all other respects.

Article 4 [as heard]: This decree will become effective when it is published in the media, notwithstanding its subsequent publication in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

Issued in Managua on 25 January 1988

For a dignified peace, free fatherland or death!

Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic

## Panama

### Newspapers Reopen; TV, Radio Developments

#### LA PRENSA Now Publishing

PA211300 [Editorial Report] Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish resumes publication on 20 January after almost 6 months of closure by government order. In Section A of the 20 January issue, the paper devotes extensive space to articles protesting what it describes as an "arbitrary closure," and criticizing the government or General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces, FDP.

Prominently placed beside the masthead on the front page is a cartoon by well-known caricaturist "Wilfi" Jimenez, showing an often-used character known as "The Heron" (La Garza), an oblique reference to the country's president, who resides in the "Palace of the Herons." "The Heron" is depicted as saying: "On guard, pineapple,"—a reference to Gen Noriega—"the whistles, handkerchiefs, and pots and pans persist; and now there is the press."

In front-page banner headlines, the paper cites a MIAMI HERALD report linking an alleged gun-running, former Israeli spy with Gen Noriega. A 150-word article, also on the front page, quotes Dr Arnulfo Arias Madrid, three-time former president of the Republic and top leader of the Authentic Panamenist Party, as saying that the reopening of the media is a "victory for the people." Another front-page article reports on Resolution 25/87 of the OAS Inter-American Human Rights Commission, which holds the Panamanian Government responsible for the murder of former guerrilla fighter Dr Hugo Spadafora; and a 200-word report by staff writer Flor Quintero, also on the front page, states that the National Civic Crusade will renew its efforts to bring about the "removal of Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega." The same report announces a demonstration to be held by the National Civic Crusade "this afternoon" in front of the offices of the KW Continente radio station, one of the media that had been closed.

In its 400-word front-page editorial, the paper states that it has reopened to continue its efforts to "contribute decisively to the conquest of freedom for all Panamanians."

Page 2-a of the paper has four articles: a 225-word report quoting Ricardo Arias Calderon, president of the Christian Democratic Party, PDC, as saying that the removal of Gen Noriega is indispensable for the democratization of the country; a 200-word report quoting Alfredo Ramirez, president of the opposition Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement, as saying that the progovernment political parties are "detachments of the Panama Defense Forces"; a 450-word, Washington-datelined report in which Spadafora's brother is quoted as saying that Noriega was the mastermind of his brother's murder; and a 400-word UPI report saying that popular pressure against Gen Noriega is growing.

In a full-page paid ad on page 3-a, the National Civic Crusade reiterates its "unyielding objective: to achieve a full democracy in which justice and freedom prevail." The ad states that the organization was happy to learn that the FDP is willing to accept Noriega's departure and to make important changes in its military structure. The Crusade warns, however, that the "Panamanian people will not tolerate a Noriegaism without Noriega, or the continuation of the so-called process...." It announces demonstrations planned for 20 January and informs the people to prepare for upcoming protests.

On page 4-a, the paper carries a half-page unattributed ad listing Panamanians who were exiled on 20 January 1976 "for expressing opinions against Omar Torrijos' dictatorial regime," as well as "patriots murdered or made to disappear" by the dictatorship. Page 12-a consists of a full-page PDC ad noting everything that the people together have achieved, including the "reopening of the media and the right for most of the exiles to return"; and stating that some things remain to be achieved, including "a professional public force with new leadership," and "an honest public administration and free elections, without fraud."

Continuing the trend of articles hailing the reopening of the media and condemning the government and Gen Noriega, page 18-a carries a 400-word report on statements made by Osvaldo Velasquez, president of the Panamanian Human Rights Committee, saying that "the dictatorship has tried to impose panic and fear as a recourse of government." This is followed by a 75-word letter from IAPA expressing support for LA PRENSA. Page 19-a has a 150-word message of support from members of the Civic Crusade in Exile, and a 125-word report on statements made by Dr Gilberto Arias, a leader of the Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement, expressing skepticism of President Delvalle's true intentions regarding freedom of expression in the media.

On the editorial page, page 30-a, a 400-word article by Ricardo J. Bermudez says Panama is a nation "besieged by its own Army"; a 300-word article by Ruben Carles says the independent media's silence has only served to consolidate the determination to struggle; and a 400-word article by Osvaldo Velasquez warns the Panamanian military personnel that history will not absolve them of guilt on the basis of the excuse that they were following orders. The same page carries a four-column cartoon showing LA PRENSA breaking out of a chained box to clobber an acne-faced military person (referring to Gen Noriega).

On page 32-a, the paper carries a 1,700-word report on statements made by General Ruben Dario Paredes, former FDP commander in chief, calling for a "Front of National Reconstruction." On the same page, the 1,000-word "In a Few Words" column discusses the Human Rights Commission's report implicating Gen Noriega in the Spadafora murder.

The rest of the 56-page issue carries the usual international and local news, and sports reports.

## EXTRA Now Publishing

PA231529 [Editorial Report] Panama City EXTRA in Spanish resumes publication on 21 January after 176 days of closure by government order. On its front page, the paper carries the banner headline: "United States Versus Noriega," a reference to a 500-word translation on page 2 of "salient points" of Law 895, approved by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Reagan on 21 December 1987.

The paper's front page also features close-ups of President Reagan; General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the FDP; and Dr Arnulfo Arias Madrid, three-time former president and leader of the Authentic Panamanist Party, above a three-column picture of Judge Clara M. de De Leon as she returns custody of the EXTRA installations to the paper's director, Cristobal Sarmiento, on 19 March. A box on the front page says that the question of the day is: "How long will Noriega continue to sink the country and the military institution itself?"

Another front-page boxed headline quotes Arnulfo Arias as saying, "Noriega Must Go," referring to a 150-word article on page 18 reporting Arias' words to that effect, while another headline announces the return of members of the National Civic Crusade from exile, reported in a 150-word article on page 2.

The paper's 200-word editorial, which begins on the front page and ends on page 2, says that EXTRA has fulfilled the mission for which it was founded 3 years ago: to expose a government that is an accomplice to corruption.

On page 4, one of the editorial pages, a 300-word article by Gonzalo Menendez Franco in the "Gateway of the Word" column hails the reopening of the media, while a 300-word article by Jose Maria Herrera G. says that the Panamanian people's jubilation over the reopening of the media is justified, because there can be no true democracy without freedom of expression.

In the "Free Column," on another editorial page, page 6, EXTRA director Cristobal Sarmiento states in a 400-word article that those who thought they could silence EXTRA forever were mistaken. He adds that "anyone who takes action against the sacred right of freedom of expression deserves the contempt of humanity."

Page 7 consists of a full-page communique by the Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement, which denounces government repression and says that the regime is crumbling. Although the 1,500-word communique was issued on 7 November, the paper says that it is being published now because of the censorship that existed at the time.

A 450-word article on page 9 attributed to XINHUA reports on statements made to Panama City LA PRENSA by General Ruben Dario Paredes, former commander in chief of the FDP, in which he calls for a "front of national reconstruction," while a full page ad by the Christian Democratic Party on pages 10 and 11 summarizes what the people have achieved and what remains to be done to achieve a true democracy.

A 350-word article on page 16 says that EXTRA has learned that Gen Noriega and nine FDP colonels will retire if Law 20 of 29 September 1983 is put into effect as expected. A 250-word article on the same page quotes THE MIAMI HERALD as saying that the Panamanian consul in Israel, Michael Harari, is implicated in murders that took place in 1978.

The back page of the tabloid, page 20, carries headlines of articles in the inside pages, including headlines about the page-16 reports on the FDP officers who are expected to retire and the consul who is implicated in murders. It also carries a cartoon showing EXTRA promising to continue denouncing a cloud labeled sinecures, opportunism, corruption and illegality, and another cloud wearing a military cap with the initials FDP and labeled drug traffic, repression, murders, robbery, and persecution.

## EXTRA on Reappearance

*PA231600 Panama City EXTRA in Spanish 21 Jan 88 p 2*

[Editorial]

[Text] EXTRA has fulfilled its duty. Founded almost 3 years ago to uncover a corrupt government, after hitting the stands once more, EXTRA today states that it has fulfilled its mission of spreading the news. In Panama

today, all Panamanians are aware of the crimes, assassinations, attacks, thefts, imprisonments, tortures, and violations that have been committed. Abroad today, all friendly and unfriendly governments are aware of the details of each of the violations that have been committed against the fatherland and against all Panamanians. The spotlight is on the wrongdoers and they will never escape from it. They even tried to conceal their evil deeds by shutting down the news media, but by doing so they increased the light they in vain tried to put out.

The monstrous result of all this is known by all. However, each day there is news of more crimes that have been committed and the people on the streets ask themselves whether this is just the tip of the iceberg. Unfortunately it is.

Upon the return of EXTRA, among the ashes and the rottenness in which we find ourselves, we reiterate our mission to help reconstruct what the wrongdoers destroyed to satisfy their own appetites.

With everyone's effort, a second republic will rise.

## QUIUBO Reopens

PA222328 [Editorial Report] Panama City QUIUBO in Spanish resumes publication on 21 January after being closed since the 3d week of July 1987. A four-line banner on the front page cites former Torrijos pilot Floyd Carlton as saying, "I became involved in drug trafficking under Noriega's orders." This headline derives from a 1,200-word article by NEW YORK TIMES reporter Stephen Engelberg published on pages 6 and 7. The Engelberg article cites official reports on U.S. Congress investigations into General Noriega's involvement in weapons and drug trafficking in the area. According to Carlton, Noriega offered to sell weapons to Salvadoran left-wing guerrillas.

On page 2, the paper publishes a 300-word article by Isis Nix, which the paper intended to publish in its 3d week of July issue when the weekly was closed. The writer notes she is including the article in this 21-28 January issue because it is still of interest. The article presents the opposing views of Civic Crusade member Gilbert Mallol and of Panama City Mayor Jilma Noriega de Jurado. Mallol describes Gen Noriega as "Panama's cancer," and adds that unless the current system is abolished it will continue generating more "Noriegas."

Mayor Jilma Noriega de Jurado, on the other hand, believes there are "more important issues" behind the continuous attacks on Gen Noriega, such as the return of the Canal to Panama. Mayor Noriega de Jurado adds that the general is seeking the true democratization of the country and is indeed accomplishing his goal. "He wants to retire," she adds, "but the people will not allow him to retire."

The paper carries on pages 4 and 5 a 1,200-word report by Isis Nix on the sexual abuse of children in Panama. On page 5, the weekly publishes pictures of the 8 January demonstrations in front of the LA PRENSA headquarters to demand the prompt reopening of the closed media. The pictures show Ruben Dario Carles, president of LA PRENSA's board of directors, and newsman Leroy Jibsion H. wearing a T-shirt with a LA PRENSA logo demanding freedom of expression.

The paper publishes a 900-word ACAN-EFE article by Rafael Candanedo on page 9. Candanedo interviews retired FDP General Ruben Dario Paredes who "denies" that there is a U.S. Government plot to oust Gen Noriega. Paredes adds that Noriega should withdraw because of his "tarnished image," noting that the crisis has intensified because "President Delvalle has not acted upon and the courts have not investigated Diaz Herrera's charges against Noriega." Paredes said he does not believe Noriega ordered Spadafora's killing. However, Noriega is held responsible for this crime "because he is protecting someone."

QUIUBO director Wilfi Jimenez' article "The Blandon Plan Had Noriega's Approval" is published on page 14. Sources close to the former Panamanian consul to New York, Jose I. Blandon, are cited as reporting that Gen Noriega blamed Blandon for this plan after the FDP chiefs of staff learned about the plan, which was published by U.S. media. The sources add that Blandon is not returning to Panama until the "hostility in the garrisons" against him diminishes. Jimenez' article includes a summary of the main points of the draft plan prepared by Blandon.

On page 15, the paper publishes an unattributed 500-word article listing the 10 most important news stories of 1987, which carries a picture of former Col Roberto Diaz Herrera as this home and a picture of FDP riot police beating up demonstrators.

On page 16, the last page of the 21-28 January issue, in a 375-word article, QUIUBO cites an article in the Costa Rican daily LA NACION commenting on an incident involving former Panamanian Ambassador to Costa Rica David Pere.

On the same page, the paper publishes a 325-word UPI item on the links between former Israeli Mossad agent Michael Harari and Gen Noriega. Harari reportedly trained the FDP riot police and arranges the sales of military equipment by the FDP.

Approximately 6 pages of the 16-pages issue are taken up by advertisements dealing with films, entertainment, and services.

### Radio Tevedos Sold

*PA241616 Panama City EXTRA in Spanish 21 Jan 88 p 6*

[From the "People and News" column]

[Text] The official Radio Tevedos has been sold to "Guayo" Martinez and Freddi Cohen. The station reports that news director Eric Rodriguez will leave his post and go to the Panamanian consulate in New Orleans. Luz Maria Noly and Batistist-Fidelist [as published] Cuban Luis Manuel Martinez are among possible candidates for Rodriguez' replacement.

### RPC TV Equipment Damaged

*PA270315 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 25 Jan 88*

[Text] The management of City Telemtro Television [RPC] wishes to report to its viewers that its Channel 12 relay station located on the summit of the Baru Volcano, which transmits to Chiriqui and Bocas del Toro Provinces, ceased transmitting our programming on Thursday, 21 January. The management of RPC Television points out that forces from outside the company, with sufficient technical knowledge, have tried to silence our voices for reasons unknown to us. RPC Television adds that it will be on the air again in Chiriqui and Bocas del Toro Provinces as soon as it repairs severe technical damage at its installations.

### Rally for EL SIGLO Noted

*PA271925 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Jan 88*

[Text] Citizens from various social classes participated this afternoon in a rally for freedom of speech to express their solidarity with the newspaper, EL SIGLO. The activity to express support for this newspaper, which had been closed for more than 6 months, was peaceful. The demonstrators shouted slogans demanding full democracy in the country. Leaders of various groups participated in the demonstration, which reaffirmed the importance of the media being given absolute freedom to fulfill their mission to inform, entertain, and educate.

### PDC's Cochez on Lack of PRD Independence

*PA241500 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 20 Jan 88 p 15*

[Letter by Christian Democratic Party, PDC, Deputy Guillermo Cochez to EL SIGLO—date of letter not given]

[Text] If the PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] wants to be an important factor in the country's life it must cut the umbilical cord that is tying it to the Panama Defense Forces [FDP]. It must prove it is able to select its own leaders without having to wait for orders from Command Headquarters on Avenue A.

The country needs strong and independent parties in the government and in opposition to it. The effort to achieve democracy cannot have any limits. However, it requires valor, courage, and responsibility. Unfortunately, the current PRD leadership has not shown any of these characteristics. The PRD is in the hands of worn-out leaders such as Romulo Escobar Bethancourt and pseudoleaders such as Ramiro Vasquez Chambonnet. Although they represent a Marxist minority within the PRD, they practically rule that party.

The PRD cannot be regarded as a true political party. In its 8 years of existence, it has only held two national congresses. One congress was to establish itself as a party, and the congress was to nominate the presidential candidate in 1984. It has never had a congress to select its leaders. The six board of directors that the PRD has had during this time have come from the FDP's general staff rather than from the PRD's rank-and-file members, as is the case with every democratic party.

Unlike the PRD, the PDC has held four national congresses where its leaders have been renewed. Moreover, the PDC is preparing for its fifth national congress. This action complies with the statutes mandating these congresses be held every 2 years. The PRD cannot say the same. That is why the divisions within that party are growing deeper and its contribution to Panama's democracy are less evident and more negative.

With parties such as the PRD, true democracy will never be established in Panama. For that reason, it is worth praising the efforts by some PRD militants to endow the party with the independence it has lacked throughout its existence as a political organization.

### MOLIRENA Leader on Blandon Plan

*PA260237 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Jan 88 p 2-A*

[Article by Migdalia Fuentes de Pineda]

[Text] Dr Mario Galindo, member of the Galindo, Arias, and Lopez law firm and a leader of the Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement [MOLIRENA], has told LA PRENSA that the main obstacles to democratization in the country are still the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] High Command or General Noriega and the persons who support him.

Galindo is regarded as someone who could be called upon as a leader by the opposition political parties. He says that although the democratic forces have made progress, the country's situation has not changed because the crux of the problem remains unchanged.

Galindo feels the solution depends on continuing the struggle through nonviolent means by maintaining pressure from and cohesion among the groups interested in democracy in Panama.

He feels the struggle should be permanent and long term. I recalled, he says, that on the very day the disturbances that led to this crisis broke out outside my office, I told a LA PRENSA newsman that this was going to be a long-term struggle. I told him it would not end in a few days, as so many people had thought, Galindo adds. Some persons did not like my remarks, but the facts have proven me right, Galindo concludes.

Galindo feels the solution lies in a dialogue among political groups, because the FDP lacks the political commitment to stop monopolizing power, as it has been doing in recent years.

Galindo adds that the solution must start from one main premise: The FDP must withdraw to its traditional duties and abandon strictly political activities.

Commenting on the Blandon Plan [proposed by former Panamanian Consul Jose Blandon], Mario Galindo stresses that Noriega and the persons around him once again appear as the main stumbling blocks to a dialogue. I suppose, he adds, that Blandon is right in saying that he (Blandon) began to prepare that political solution with the FDP's blessing.

Galindo remarks: I cannot imagine Blandon, who is politically savvy, doing this on his own initiative. Blandon is proposing a sort of framework for a dialogue that could lead to honest elections in 1989. That plan seemed to have some validity and served as a working document. When this plan was made public, however, Gen Noriega simply fired Blandon, saying he was acting on his own. That is another demonstration that the FDP is the obstacle. I think any solution will come through a dialogue. The formulas can vary. Many of the things contained in the Blandon Plan are viable and acceptable.

Galindo points out that the incidents in the past 6 months show that the judicial branch and the Attorney General's Office are totally subservient to the FDP, which acts as the country's political power.

He adds: Here, nobody knows how or why an order closing LA PRENSA for 24 hours is given. The judicial branch and the Attorney General's Office immediately accept that arbitrary measure. They extended that measure for 6 months under the pretext that they are conducting an investigation for I do not know what crime. No investigation is conducted, and the news media remain closed based on a order originally issued by an administrative office. However, the judicial branch and the Attorney General's Office made and justified that decision.

Galindo also says: The country needs to have a truly independent and autonomous judicial branch to function as a legitimate state. Without that there is no legal government. That is one of the most important aspects of the political solution that must be implemented.

He further comments: The same thing is mentioned in the resolution issued by the Human Rights Committee on the Spadafora case. The committee said this case is a specific, dramatic example of the judicial branch's and the Attorney General's Office's lack of independence.

Regarding Law 20 [on the FDP's special powers], Galindo says: I start out with the premise that the FDP's power does not depend on Law 20. We have to accept that no law is enough to encompass or cover political activities. Politican activities very often go beyond the law, and this is one of these cases.

He adds: The FDP's power does not come from Law 20; the FDP has power with or without Law 20. From this point of view, in my opinion, immediate reforms to Law 20 are not the most important thing. Law 20 needs to be reformed, but it could very well be that politically this is not the right moment.

Mario Galindo points out that among the most important reforms that need to be made to Law 20 is establishing a fixed period of time for the post of FDP commander in chief, which could be made to coincide with the president's, who is the person who should appoint the FDP commander and enforce mandatory military retirements when necessary. Law 20 no longer establishes mandatory retirement. It gives military personnel the right to retire but does not make it obligatory. I believe it should be made obligatory, he says.

Galindo further says: I believe the country cannot think about taking political reprisals. If the opposition reaches power, I do not think it could waste the country's and the government's time by unleashing political persecutions or reprisals that would achieve nothing. Experience shows us that those persecutions and reprisals have been senseless and ineffectual in most Latin American countries. This does not mean that whoever is guilty of particularly grave crimes should not be tried. However, this is something totally different from reprisals and persecution, and we must start with a clean slate from this viewpoint.

Galindo adds: I do not say the military forces are responsible for everything, and I do not believe the civilians linked with the government are the only ones responsible for the crisis. I believe, however, the biggest share of responsibility belongs to the FDR, because it has not perceived that the political system that has prevailed in the country for a long time is totally obsolete.

Galindo says: Nothing positive can be expected from that political system—only repression and arbitrariness. From this viewpoint, and given that it is not the only group responsible for this, I believe the military does have a very large share of responsibility, so it must make the biggest contribution to solve the country's political problems.

Galindo thinks: We will have elections, even though it is not clear if they will be held earlier or in 1989. I believe whatever solution is negotiated right now should be a provisional one; and it should lead to honest elections so the Panamanian people, and the winning and losing politicians, will accept the results. The opposition political parties agree that—whether or not Noriega goes—the opposition must unite to participate in the next elections. Otherwise, the government will win the elections without cheating, and Panama would witness what recently happened in South Korea: Two opposition groups participated separately in the elections, and the government won the elections with barely 30 percent of the vote.

Galindo says: We must be fully united. If it means unity with Dr Arnulfo Arias, then let us unite with Dr Arias by all means. I am fully convinced the opposition will unite to participate in the elections, and I have reason to think this is not idealism.

He adds: It is true that the constitutional reforms grant political parties a monopoly on important posts such as legislators. Constitutional reforms are based on the view that political parties should be supported and strengthened so the country can have a liberal democracy. It is true that important persons who have moved up to positions of leadership may now feel excluded from the election activities.

Galindo continues: Several important members of the Civic Crusade are also important party members: Vallarino and Mallol belong to the Christian Democratic Party, and Barria belongs to the MOLIRENA, even though he is not an active member. I remember when he explained that he had joined our party at the reques of Minister of Education Manuel Solis Palma. I believe that all those people can join the existing parties and that they will not be discriminated against at all. I believe the political parties would open their doors to those people.

I am a politician, and I am proud of it, even though I have never assumed a public post, he says, adding: Frankly, and you might not believe me, I never think about the topic. I believe those who want to sow discord and create divisions will never achieve their goal.

Galindo continues: I believe the presidency is like mares, who only accept stallions at a certain time. The stallion who comes at the right time is able to mount and take the presidency. I am not interested in those things.

Galindo categorically denies that he has been asked to be a candidate for a provisional government at a given time.

He believes that our relations with the United States are very tense and that it is not likely they will improve: I believe this has negative effects more on the economic sector than in the political sector. Furthermore, there can be no economic solution without a political solution. The political problem may be solved through a dialogue among Panamanians, but the economic situation will not be automatically solved, because this requires more time.

## Diaz Herrera Views Trial, National Issues

*PA262329 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 25 Jan 88 p 6*

[Interview with Colonel Roberto Diaz Herrera, retired, in Venezuela by EL SIGLO correspondent Luis Estribi; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Estribi] What is your opinion of your trial?

[Diaz Herrera] I want to tell the Panamanian people that I can now speak objectively thanks to the stability that my family and my home have given me in hospitable Venezuela. We are optimistic about the future of our fatherland. We have been, probably, the ones who at an individual and family level have suffered the worst kind of repression and threats of physical and psychological harm, a situation that touched even our youngest child.

The Panamanian people are smart enough to understand the illegality and irregularities (In Panama there was an insistent rumor that Colonel Diaz was tortured so he would recant his very serious charges of June 1987. His trial lasted less than 30 minutes and was held behind closed doors.) committed during our trial. We knew what we were dealing with, and in a suicidal effort, we searched, without the support of Panamanian political parties or foreign institutions, for a new moral order. We did our part.

[Estribi] Are you satisfied with what you have done?

[Diaz Herrera] Our greatest reward is the respect for our children. We do not like to brood about the past. It is not healthy. We like to be optimistic because we believe in that pragmatic saying that if you are not part of the solution you are part of the problem. We want to be part of Panama's solution, and I am not talking about whimsical or egoistic solutions.

We are not angry and we feel no rancor or desire to take revenge on any group or individual. Panama needs us to set aside our pettiness and egotism. Much altruism is necessary. It is urgently necessary to get rid of demagoguery.

[Estribi] Will you continue participating in Panamanian politics?

[Diaz Herrera] As political animals, we view politics not only as a means for achieving power—which is the normal thing to do—but also as a way of participating in the decisions that are made to develop an open Panamanian society.

I am very much concerned about my country's fate and, especially, with the fate of the Armed Forces, which is an essential institution in the framwork of a national, modern, and democratic state.

As one of the main theoretical spokesman for our armed institution, I will never renounce my firm conviction: that the military is not comprised of second class citizens.

[Estribi] Much is being said about the return of the oligarchy. What do you think about that?

[Diaz Herrera] We always want the soldiers and the people to be united. We cannot again become the tools of the old oligarchy and its political objectives because loyalty goes not to men but to the fatherland and its institutions. [passage omitted]

[Estribi] What do you think about General Noriega now?

[Diaz Herrera] I have kown Manuel Antonio Noriega since we were cadets. We worked together on many tasks, especially at Torrijos's side. I have nothing against him, his family, or his close friends. I think Noriega has been trapped by circumstances and I think that he like all of us who must make decisions to help the country, must be generous and unselfish and make sacrifices.

Noriega is entitled to defend his position but he must also listen and respect the opinion and positions of others.

[Estribi] What do you think of future elections?

[Diaz Herrera] We paid the highest price in terms of individual and family sacrifices, although others have made big sacrifices and continue to make them. I hope that we can set aside cheap election campaigns and overcome human greediness. [passage omitted]

**Former General Paredes on Opposition, Noriega**
*PA220310 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 20 Jan 88 p 32-A*

[Report on interview with General Ruben Dario Paredes, former commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces, by Migdalia Fuentes de Pineda in Panama City; date not given]

[Excerpts] General Ruben Dario Paredes, retired, former commander in chief of the National Guard, made statements to this newspaper approving the formation of a Great National Reconstruction Front, composed of the different political sectors that are presently in conflict.

During a long interview at his residence in the Las Cumbres suburb, Paredes spoke about the country's crisis and suggested that Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces, should leave his position a year before the elections.

Paredes, a presidential candidate in the 1984 elections, evaluated the present situation of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the present head of the Panamanian Defense Forces. He stated that no official in the nation's history, much less a Defense Forces commander, has ever been mentioned in connection with so many negative and evil matters as has been the case with Gen Noriega. However, he added that he believes it is opportune to discuss the reconstruction of the fatherland.

"I believe people have their opinion about Noriega," he said and noted that he delieved everything that is said about Noriega but he does not have any evidence.

According to Paredes, Noriega knows he is the problem and would like to find a way out but other forces will not let him. These other forces, especially civilian PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] and PALA [Labor Partys] leaders, tell Noriega that he canno leave, that nothing is happening here, and that there is no opiosition. [passage omitted]

Paredes supported the idea that elections be held in 1989, and stipulated that the Torrijos-Carter Treaty is sacred and that whatever Panamanian group controls the government from now to the year 2000 must comply with it.

Paredes advocated respect for the Defense Forces in line with their status under Law 20, and noted that this is not the time to revise Law 20. He believes the law should be analyzed and revised when the country is calm and at peace.

Paredes noted that another requirement for the great national agreement is that there should be no political persecution of any Panamanian after he stops being a politician or a government employee.

He proposed the restructuring of the Electoral Tribunal in order to regain the citizen's trust and so citizens can believe their votes are going to be respected.

If Noriega and Delvalle agree to the great agreement in February, a timetable for Noriega's departure should be established along with the designation of his replacement.

Paredes maintains that 6 months is long enough for Noriega to make the necessary adjustments. The agreement should be signed by all: the church, the human rights commission, OAS and UN representatives, and other groups like Esquipulas II and Contadora.

If Noriega takes these steps, Paredes added, he can retire a year before the elections and this would show that what is being done is credible, serious, and patriotic.

If, on the contrary, Noriega hangs on to his position or to power because a group of politicians asks him to do so because of personal interests, the crisis will continue to increase dangerously and irresponsibly.

Paredes noted that Panama must present its candidate to the post of canal administrator next year:

"This candidate has to undergo a test at the [U.S.] Congress. There he will be X-rayed, and that candidate cannot go to the United States if Panama is beset by drug trafficking, money laundering, and murder accusations." Paredes noted it is important that elections be held to boost the government's image at a time when the Canal is reverting to Panama.

If things remain the same, the U.S. Government is going to continue questioning the present discredited government of Noriega and Delvalle, he added.

To maintain the "status quo" betrays Torrijos and the Torrijos-Carter Treaty because that implies that the treaty not be complied with. This is being advocated by those citizens who deny the people the right to choose their leaders. [passage omitted]

According to Paredes, the PRD and its leaders are used to participating in elections supported by rifles, bayonets, and soldiers. They do not want Noriega to disassociate the Armed Forces with the PRD's political dilemma, because the Armed Forces are the real source of the PRD's and PALA's power.

Paredes says that if Noriega allows this continued association he will weaken the Armed Forces. They will be sacrificing themselves to keep the PRD in power. Elections will take place in 16 months, and the link must be broken so the PRD can work independently to participate in the elections and so the Defense Forces can prepare to become a national reserve force for the year 2000. [passage omitted]

Paredes explains how the Blandon Plan shows that the best guarantee for the implementation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaty is for Panamanians to have a truly democratic system. The world currently sees us as an immature nation governed by decapitators and drug traffickers. This worries the countries using our canal, because they think the waterway is not being run by responsible people. That is why the only way to convince the world we are civilized people is through true democracy and elections.

Paredes says that Jose Isabel Blandon has just issued an important warning about our current situation, and Noriega must be helped to overcome the problem that has caused our national crisis. Paredes explains that the Blandon Plan failed because repression increased and the Civic Crusade stayed out of the streets. Thus, this false serenity told Noriega that all is under control and the Blandon plan should not be supported.

There is also the visit by Admiral Murphy, retired, former assistant to Vice President Bush when he was CIA director. Murphy arrived with Tong Sun-pak, a Korean. According to Paredes, the latter is conducting a lot of business here and has become Noriega's friend. According to Paredes, Murphy told Noriega: "I will solve your problem; stay put and hold on because everything will be settled once Bush becomes the Republican Party's next President. We will give you all the political support you need." Paredes adds: (I imagine) once Noriega received that tremendous vote of support, he told Blandon to forget the plan. However, Blandon told Noriega that he had not acted in good faith when Noriega asked Blandon to reveal a plan he would later reject. Several U.S. officials, including Senator Christopher Dodd, had come here, and such South American leaders as Carlos Andres Perez were aware of the plan. [passage omitted]

Paredes believes Noriega will stage a coup d'etat if he sees himself cornered.

Referring to Blandon's statements, Paredes thinks Blandon is saying what others would like to say but do not dare. If the economic situation worsens, Noriega might wrongly maneuver toward a coup to establish himself as head of state. He also might install a provisional junta until elections take place. Paredes said the report by the senators' staffers clearly states that this would only extend the patient's suffering. And in this case, the Panamanian people are the patient. [passage omitted]

## Banker: Economic Recovery Possibly 'Difficult'

*PA260108 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 21 Jan 88 pp A-1, A-14*

[By Hermes Sucre Serrano]

[Text] Mario de Diego, executive secretary of the National Banking Commission, yesterday said that Panamanian banking officials are seeking resources abroad for financing local credit. At the same time, he warned that "if there is no change in the behavior of national savings, the possibilities for an economic recovery in Panama are going to be very difficult."

Mario de Diego added that "we, the banking officials—both jointly as well as individually—are seeking financial resources abroad to meet the demands of the various sectors of the national economy."

He stated that these efforts are being undertaken with the international banks and credit organizations, and that some results will probably be attained before June. He added that if no funds are obtained abroad, there will be problems, at least until the funds that left the country due to the political crisis are brought back.

De Diego emphasized that there are two important parts of this issue: First, if the efforts are successful, the results will be more immediate than if we wait until the money

that was pulled from the country is brought back. Second, the funds being negotiated will be paid back in 10 years. He pointed out that this financing "will not only allow banks to grant long-term loans (mortgages), but also industrial loans (medium term—5 to 7 years)."

The secretary of the banking commission noted that short-term financing traditionally forces banks to make medium-term loans, but that efforts are now being made "to change the profile of the resources that bankers have for lending from short-term to medium- and long-term."

De Diego emphasized that to reactivate mortgage loans in Panama, the banks will have to obtain long-term resources since "the banks will not try to nor will the commission allow long-term loans to be made with money obtained on a short-term basis. That is unwise and risky."

The high-ranking official warned that although efforts are being made to obtain funds abroad, under the best possible conditions and with satisfactory terms, it should in no way be thought that "our economy can develop on the basis of foreign resources without first making use of our own potential, such as our national savings."

De Diego told LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA that obtaining funds abroad is a complementary measure "for reinforcement," because no country in the world can "uphold economic development based on foreign resources."

"We cannot depend exclusively on that, nor can we maintain the contradiction that occurs when a country that generates great national savings exports these without receiving any benefits," he added.

He stated that it does not make sense for a Panamanian—either a businessman or simply a citizen—to have his savings deposited abroad and then resort to the banks for a loan, when these same banks must get the funds for this loan from abroad.

De Diego, who is also a former minister of commerce and industries and of the presidency, concluded: "If there is no change in the behavior of national savings, the possibilities for an economic recovery in Panama are going to be very difficult."

## Editorial Applauds U.S.-Imposed Sanctions

*PA240203 Panama City EXTRA in Spanish 23 Jan 88 pp 1, 4*

[Editorial: "Law 895"]

[Text] At the end of last year, the U.S. Congress approved—and President Ronald Reagan ratified—a devastating law that must be understood in full detail by all Panamanians. Generally, the law seeks to: reestablish democracy in Panama by putting an end to the corrupt dictatorship presently in power. The American people, their Congress, and their President, along with all U.S. Government agencies, have now stood firm and are supporting the wishes of the Panamanian people in their fight for freedom.

Law 895 is clear and forceful.

Since the end of 1987, all civilian and military aid to Panama has been suspended. There will be no more joint military maneuvers or sugar exports to the United States until President Reagan verifies that complete democratization has taken place in Panama. All U.S. AID assistance and all sales, credits, guarantees, Export-Import Bank donations and loans, and military assistance—especially from the CIA—will be suspended. Student aid and food and medicine shipments for disaster relief are exempt from this measure. All U.S. officials from multinational banks, such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the IDB will vote against all loans to Panama.

The case of sugar is a special one. The United States demands that full freedom of the press, all constitutional rights, and legal guarantees be observed for a full calendar year, from 1 January to 31 December. Otherwise, the sugar quota will be allocated to other countries. In 1987, that condition was not met. Therefore, in 1988, there will be no sugar exports to the United States.

Losses to the national economy resulting from this devastating law, which was approved because of military corruption, are estimated at 1 billion balboas annually, according to the Senate. That is an additional burden that Panamanians must bear as long as the dictatorship is in power.

To lift such a forceful economic sanction, the U.S. President must inform Congress:

1. That the Panamanian Government has achieved civilian control over the Armed Forces, and that the latter have been severed from nonmilitary activities and institutions.

2. That the Panamanian Government is impartially investigating reports of illegal actions by members of the Panama Defense Forces.

3. That there is an agreement between the government and the opposition on conditions for holding free and honest elections.

4. That the freedom of the press, constitutional guarantees, and legal guarantees have been reestablished.

The alliance between the Panamanian and the American people for attaining democracy and for putting an end to the dictatorship, corruption, and suffering is as clear as water in a clean pail. It cannot be any clearer.

**Briefs**

### Economic Growth Reported

Amilcar Villarreal, director of statistics for the Office of the Comptroller General, has stated that the GNP grew 2.9 percent in 1987 and that the agricultural and livestock sectors grew an average of 8.8 percent. The manufacturing industry reported a 4.5-percent increase. The official commented that despite the current economic crisis, the Colon Free Zone grew more than 10 percent, and the amount of oil carried by the pipeline increased by more than 5 percent. The official also stated that the impact of the crisis was felt during the 2d half of the year, especially in construction, wholesale and retail sales, and hotel and tourist services. [Summary] *[Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 20 Jan 88 PA]*

## Argentina

### Alfonsin on Rico Uprising, Military Coup Plan

*PY290011 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1429 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jan (EFE)—Argentine President Raul Alfonsin today said that "somebody was collecting money" among civilians during the recent military uprising to finance a coup d'etat in Argentina.

Before leaving for Spain, Alfonsin told EFE that "an extreme right-wing group with a certain status and the ability to collect money" is involved in this affair.

Alfonsin said the intention of some military men, especially those of the Air Force who took over "Jorge Newbery" Airport in Buenos Aires while former Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico was making a stand in Corrientes Province, was to bring about "something insane like a coup d'etat."

Alfonsin added that "the plots to kill Air Force Chief of Staff Ernesto Crespo and myself in order to supposedly save the country were insane."

Alfonsin stated to EFE: "We were dealing with a process that called for a confrontation. This did not surprise me because we became aware of this possibility after Holy Week," in 1987, when Rico headed the first rebellion in the Army since the advent of the democratic government on 10 December 1983.

Alfonsin said: "I had said many times that we were going to face other revolts because, in my opinion, the problem had not been resolved. Although I reaffirm there is no possibility of a coup d'etat in Argentina, it is obvious there are still small groups that could carry out this type of action."

Alfonsin identified these groups as "fundamentalists" and said: "From my viewpoint, the result of this event has been highly positive because it will allow us to reorganize the Army so it can play a leading role in the process of democratization." "In this sense, we are better off now," Alfonsin said.

### Army Issues Communique on Rebel Colonel Leon

*PY290141 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2123 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jan (NA)—The Army General Staff today released the following communique:

1. Lieutenant Colonel Angel Leon was today transferred from Tucuman to the Armed Forces' Magdalena Military Prison. He is under the jurisdiction of military judge No 2, Colonel Mario Eduardo Serra, retired.

2. In addition, 43 noncommissioned officers of the 2d Infantry Regiment (Mercedes, Corrientes Province) were returned to their garrison from the Magdalena Military Prison. Military judge Serra established their situation in accordance with Article 316 of the Military Code of Justice. This means they are free and on duty, but at the disposal of the military judge for any situation related to the case.

### Caputo, Malmierca View Central America, Ties

*PY282105 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1550 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jan (NA)—Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo and his Cuban counterpart, Isidoro Malmierca, today discussed the Central American crisis and various aspects of their bilateral relations during the first official meeting of Malmierca's 3-day visit, which began yesterday.

This morning Malmierca placed a wreath at the monument of General San Martin.

Malmierca met with Caputo at the Foreign Ministry from about 1100 until noon.

Caputo and Malmierca then had lunch at the San Martin Palace. They plan to meet again in the afternoon.

According to an unofficial report, a joint communique on the talks will be released at 1700.

Malmierca said yesterday that he plans to discuss the issue of human rights in Cuba during his meetings with Caputo and President Alfonsin.

Malmierca will meet with President Alfonsin tomorrow.

Upon arriving at Ezeiza International Airport yesterday, Malmierca said the issue of human rights in Cuba "is being raised by the U.S. Government, and of course it has no basis."

He added that the charges made by Washington "can mainly be traced to that country's somewhat self-defensive attitude [cierta actitud de inspiracion multilateralista de ese pais]."

Asked what the Cuban position would be regarding the decision of the Group of Eight to promote Cuba's return to the OAS, Malmierca said "that point should be collectively and thoroughly evaluated."

Malmierca declined to comment on the current human rights, political, and labor union situation in his country. He excused himself to the press, saying he had to "rest" because "it was a long" trip.

According to diplomatic sources, the Central American crisis is also on the agenda of the Cuban foreign minister during his talks with Caputo and President Alfonsin.

### President Comments on L.A. Integration, Debt

*PY282031 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1513 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Jan (EFE)—Argentine President Raul Alfonsin today said that "we are slowly approaching what could turn out to be a common market," when referring to a cooperation agreement signed by Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil.

He added that "so far we have signed an accord on capital goods with Brazil, and I assume we can make progress in other areas too, mutually reducing the taxes that do not affect tariffs [impuestos no arancelarios]."

On 6 February, Alfonsin is due to meet in Uruguay with Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti and with Brazilian President Jose Sarney.

During an inteview granted to EFE, Alfonsin said the accords signed with Brazil and Uruguay after the advent of democratic governments in the three countries are "very important and are one of the foundations of the policy that we want to implement, that is, Latin American integration."

Alfonsin stressed that the accords with Brazil "are working and are being implemented, despite the fact that both Brazil and Argentina are facing serious economic difficulties."

Concerning nuclear energy development, Alfonsin said that "Argentina and Brazil must grow together, because we are no longer competitors. Both President Sarney and I have adopted a categorical position in this regard."

Concerning the repayment of the Latin American foreign debt, Alfonsin said that "I don't think it can continue like this," adding that "we see that the position we have advocated for years, about the political nature of the debt and about the need not to approach the issue from an exclusively financial viewpoint, is finally being understood."

Alfonsin maintained that "the governments and the banks are trying to find other formulas to solve this problem."

### Deputy on Cordoba Governor as UCR Candidate

*PY251653 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1444 GMT 24 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] Mar del Plata, 24 Jan (NA)—Cesar Jaroslavsky, chairman of the UCR bloc in the Chamber of Deputies, has said Cordoba Governor Eduardo Angeloz will be the next UCR presidential candidate "because there is no one else." Jaroslavsky said a proposal has been made to former Buenos Aires Governor Juan Casella to join Angeloz on the UCR ticket.

Jaroslavsky added that Casella has not yet responded to the proposal but that "it would be no problem" if Casella declines because "Jesus Rodriguez, Leopoldo Moreau, Federico Storani, or any of the young UCR members would make equally good candidates."

Jaroslavsky made these comments at the Chapadmalal tourist complex, where he went to meet with President Raul Alfonsin, with whom he discussed military issues and the prospects of holding talks with the Justicialist Party. [passage omitted]

### Briefs

#### Air Artillery Group Chief

Mar del Plata, 27 Jan (TELAM)—Colonel Rodolfo Godoy has assumed the post of chief of the Air Artillery Defense Group 601. Colonel Godoy most recently held the position of military attache to the Argentine Embassy in the United States, and he was Argentina's delegate to the Inter-American Defense Board. [Text] *[Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1620 GMT 27 Jan 88 PY]*

## Brazil

### Sodre: Libya Not To Receive Offensive Weapons

*PY281548 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0306 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Brasilia, 27 Jan (EFE)—Brazilian Foreign Minister Roberto de Abreu Sodre today confirmed that Brazil will sell weapons to Libya.

"However, they are not offensive weapons," Sodre said.

Asked if he considered the "Leo" and "Piranha" rockets and the "Astros-2" multiple rocket launcher as defensive weapons, the foreign minister said they are short-range weapons, as established in a contract that will be signed soon.

Concerning a note the U.S. State Department sent yesterday to the Brazilian ambassador to Washington, Marcilio Marques Moreira, describing as "inappropriate" the sale of weapons to Libya, the foreign minister said he is still unaware of this note. However, he said it "will have no effect."

De Abreu Sodre went on to say the sale of weapons to Libya will total $2 billion.

The foreign minister does not know if the materiel purchased by the Libyans would then be resold to Iran, as claimed by the U.S. Government, "because Brazil has a course of action concerning arms issues that does not allow for the sale of war materiel to nations that are in a state of war."

The Libyan military delegation, which is still in Brazil negotiating the purchase of "Osorio" tanks, rockets, and a multiple rocket launcher, might sign a contract with the Brazilian enterprise "Engesa" [Specialized Engineers, Inc] tomorrow.

## Sarney Freezes Hiring; Price Freeze Denied

*PY281414 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] President Jose Sarney today will sign a decree mandating a hiring freeze on 30,000 federal posts for at least 1 year. Administration Minister Aluisio Alves and Finance Minister Mailson da Nobrega will finish drawing up the decree this morning and it will be sent to the president at 1000.

Meanwhile, Civilian Household Minister Ronaldo Costa Couto said the decree will impose a 5 percent reduction in the expenses of public offices. The purpose of this measure is to reduce the budget deficit and to control inflation while maintaining economic growth. Minister Costa Couto also said the government will not implement a new prize freeze.

[Begin Costa Couto recording] A price freeze is totally ruled out. The government will not order a price freeze. This unorthodox measure has already made its contribution, with both positive and negative results for the country. The government has now adopted a more classical policy, which you could call a rice-and-bean economy. This is the path we will follow.

Creativity will be allowed, but we will leave the more daring experiments to other governments. [end recording]

Minister Costa Couto also reported that President Sarney called a cabinet meeting for 1 February in Planalto Palace. He also summoned Federal Supreme Court President Rafael Maia, National Congress President Senator Umberto Lucena, Chamber of Deputies President Ulysses Guimaraes, the PMDB and PFL leaders in the Chamber of Deputies, and Carlos Sant'Anna, the government leader in the Chamber of Deputies.

During the meeting they will discuss the government budget for the current year and the economic-financial situation of the nation.

With President Sarney's decision to freeze hiring on 30,000 federal posts, the Planalto Palace staff will be reduced by 10 percent. This means that the staff of the Presidency of the Republic will be reduced from 2,668 employees to 2,056, a reduction of 212. [figures as heard] However, no one will be fired.

## Further on Deficit Measures

*PY290147 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] President Jose Sarney today approved a package of measures to control the deficit in the area of public personnel. The decision was made after a meeting this afternoon with Finance Minister Mailson da Nobrega and Administration Minister Aluizio Alves. Minister Nobrega announced the new measures at the end of the meeting:

[Begin Nobrega recording] Nearly 40,000 positions will be abolished in the central administration and autonomous enterprises. A still unknown number of positions will be frozen in the state enterprises. The filling of those positions will be forbidden.

The hiring of new personnel during 1988 is also forbidden. The public administration is forbidden from making any new expenditures on personnel, for any reason, during this year.

The central administration and the state enterprises will make a 10-percent reduction of per diem allowances to their personnel. This means in real terms.

Public enterprises will make a 5-percent reduction in their expenses on personnel.

The creation of new remunerated positions will remain forbidden throughout 1988.

The public administration will have a workload of 40 hours a week.

Each office of the public administration will create a commission to investigate cases involving the holding of more than one public job by a single employee.

The ministries will make a list of dispensable employees for redistribution or reallocation to other public departments.

These measures will also be applied in federal schools. [end recording]

Government offices will have 30 days to publish the list of dispensable positions. Administration Minister Aluizio Alves said these measures will not interfere with the implementation of the Public Employee Career Program. [passage omitted]

### Nobrega on Salary Policy

*PY290024 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Finance Minister Mailson da Nobrega today said the government will not change its salary policy that provides monthly adjustments by the URP [Price Reference Unit] even if inflation drops. Nobrega made this statement during a visit to the National Confederation of Industries [CNI].

[Begin Nobrega recording] The salary policy will not change. Our short-term objective is to stabilize inflation; even though we are not satisfied with present levels of inflation, this is the most we can do at present. We expect the situation to improve soon. The government action regarding the deficit should help. What we really need is a strong process of investments, and for this to be possible we need to fight the public deficit and conduct an adequate negotiation of the foreign debt. [end recording]

Mailson da Nobrega said the government will continue to implement a monetary policy to realize interest rates above the inflation rate. According to Nobrega, the government will reject any policy that might result in negative interest rates, because this is the quickest road to hyperinflation.

[Begin Nobrega recording] Our monetary policy will ensure that interest rates remain above the inflation rate. The implementation of any policy resulting in negative interest rates will be the quickest path to hyperinflation. We cannot allow the CIP [Interministerial Price Commission] to raise prices excessively. [end recording]

During his visit to the CNI, Nobrega said the government will not fight inflation with a policy of salary and price freezes. CNI President Alvano Franco said Nobrega's comments reassured businessmen who were afraid the new minister might adopt measures already tried by his predecessors.

President Sarney sent a memorandum to all ministries and subordinate agencies today recommending that they not fill any new positions, unless there is an urgent administrative need, until the end of the voting at the Constituent Assembly.

## Chile

### Envoy to U.S. Criticizes Decision by Congress

*PY290224 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Hernan Felipe Errazuriz, Chilean ambassador to the United States, has said the U.S. congressional decision to allocate $1 million for promoting democracy in Chile jeopardizes the clean electoral process in which we are engaged. Errazuriz, who arrived in Chile today, made this statement after meeting with Acting Foreign Minister General Ernesto Videla.

[Begin Errazuriz recording] This decision jeopardizes the clean electoral process in which we are engaged. As we see it, our decisions are in agreement with the will of the Chilean people and with our own situation. Consequently, I do not believe this type of decision—which incidentally is connected with very bad recollections of the past—will produce the expected result, that is, the promotion of democracy. Our Constitution and our government program are promoting democracy. [end recording]

Asked about the bilateral issues that are still pending, like the U.S. State Department request for the questioning of General Hector Orozco in the Letelier case, Errazuriz said that a letter had been submitted requesting information from Gen Orozco. He said the courts, which are an independent branch of government, are dealing with the letter. He said, however, that there are other Chilean-U.S. issues that are much more interesting.

[Begin Errazuriz recording] Our relations are not, and they should not be, hostage to any case like the Letelier case. Our relations go far beyond that. The Letelier case, although obviously important, is not the most important bilateral issue. There are other more important issues. [end recording]

Concerning the fact that one of the reasons the U.S. Congress decided to allocate $1 million to the opposition is that the Chilean military regime should end in 1989, Errazuriz said this decision reflects a lack of awareness of the situation in Chile.

[Begin Errazuriz recording] I have not seen the text of the resolution, which should be carefully read. Yet it is obvious that we have a clear political process, as a result of which in 1989—in the immediate future— congress will be reactivated, and this [words indistinct], that is, this is nothing new. This reveals once again a lack of awareness of our political [word indistinct]. [end recording]

The ambassador explained that he is paying a coordination and information visit to Chile, and that he will meet with President Augusto Pinochet and other officials.

### Note Sent to Vatican Concerning Silva Remarks

*PY281411 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has sent a message to the Holy See, expressing concern about recent remarks by Cardinal Silva in the FRG.

The text of the message to the Vatican is as follows:

We want to express the government's concern and uneasiness regarding remarks made by Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez, remarks that are not conducive to national harmony.

This information was supplied by Foreign Ministry spokesman Carlos Ducci.

### Interior Minister on Antiterrorist Measures

*PY290046 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez has said the government will adopt measures in connection with the latest terrorist attacks, but it will not modify the existing state of exception. He added that terrorism will not affect the development of the Chilean constitutional process.

The minister said terrorists who attempt to threaten the people or interrupt the constitutional process are quite wrong, because these crimes do not intimidate either the Armed Forces or the government. They will not stop the process that the government is implementing, he warned.

Fernandez stressed the government is ready to take the necessary measures, and the people can rest assured that if the terrorists are seeking to stop the institutional process, they are totally wrong.

I believe they act in coordination, and they are aware of what each other is doing. They are different parts of a structure directed by a single head, namely, international Marxism, the minister said.

He added that the measures to be adopted, like requests for information, special searches, and [words indistinct] along and in (?roads) or cities, could annoy the people. I ask for the people's cooperation and understanding, Fernandez said.

He concluded by saying that the presence of Maximo Pacheco, president of the Chilean Human Rights Commission, at the mass for the murdered Carabinero is a positive development.

### Powerful Explosions in Concepcion Reported

*PY281436 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1320 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Concepcion, 28 Jan (AFP)—Two powerful dynamite charges exploded last night on the downtown streets of Concepcion, near the hotel where military prosecutor Fernando Torres is staying. Torres has come from Santiago to investigate leftist guerrilla groups.

The police have reported that two other less powerful bombs also went off on the outskirts of the city.

The first explosions broke windows of two bank offices, a cafe, a municipal office, an apartment building, and a vegetable store.

The explosions caused no casualties, and no organization has yet claimed responsibility for the attacks, which shocked the people.

Among several proceedings against the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), prosecutor Torres is investigating the ambush that this organization perpetrated against President Augusto Pinochet in 1986.

Pinochet was slightly injured in that attack, but five of his bodyguards were killed by machinegun fire and rockets launched at Pinochet's motorcade.

Torres is also investigating the smuggling into the country of a large arsenal intended for the guerrillas and the kidnapping of a colonel who was kept by the FPMR for 3 months.

According to Torres, the main leaders of the FPMR are hiding in Concepcion (430 km south of Santiago). The FPMR is considered by the government to be the armed branch of the proscribed Communist Party.

### FPMR Regional Leader Indicted

*PY281459 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] In Concepcion, ad hoc military prosecutor Fernando Torres Silva has said that in the past few hours he indicted Nelson Alarcon Pulido, allegedly an FPMR regional leader, and has extended Alarcon Pulido's incommunicado status.

### Court Releases HOY Journalists on Bail

*PY290212 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] Convinced that their arrest was unfair, and ready to continue to struggle for freedom of the press and truth in our country, HOY magazine director Abraham Santibanez and editor Alejandro Guille, along with political scientist Genaro Arriagada, have left Capuchinos prison. [passage omitted]

As everyone knows, these professionals were released by a unanimous military court decision, after the prosecutor who thought they were a danger to society decided to release them on bail. The three professionals cannot leave the country and must report every 15 days to the Capuchinos prison.

## Colombia

### Barco Addresses Nation on Security Measures

*PA270559 Bogota Television Service in Spanish 0309 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Address to the nation by President Virgilio Barco in Bogota—live or recorded]

[Text] Fellow countrymen: Last night I announced that during today's meeting—which as a matter of fact was a very long meeting—the Council of Ministers would adopt a series of measures. Now I wish to inform the country of those measures:

First, using the special powers granted by the state of siege, we have issued a statute for the defense of democracy. In other countries this is called an anti-terrorist statute.

Second, habeas corpus procedures, the protection of those citizens who have been unjustly arrested, have been amended to allow greater control on the part of higher authorities. This will prevent flagrant violations of the law, such as the case we all are familiar with.

Third, we have created a new jurisdiction in all judicial districts to hear all cases that affect public order. These new jurisdictions have been created in accordance with the decisions that the honorable Supreme Court of Justice has made with regard to this matter.

Fourth, we have strengthened the judiciary with the creation of 4,993—almost 5,000—new positions. The new positions have been distributed in the following manner: 640 new positions in 160 criminal courts; 90 new positions in 30 special courts; 78 new positions in 39 district attorney's offices; 1,100 prosecutors; and 2,939 new positions for the judicial police. Since these measures lie within the framework of the protection of human rights, we have taken the following actions:

1. I have requested the financial and technical aid of the UN Development Program to establish a central archive, which will be updated permanently, of everyone who is arrested, including where they are confined. In this way, there will be information, rapidly availible, to verify the actual place where people are confined, as well as what transfers have taken place.

2. I have also ordered the creation of a special investigative commission to investigate reports of human rights violations. Their recommendations, conclusions, and methods will be made public. Its members will have total independence, protection, and adequate resources. Also, I have ordered strict controls on the use of helicopters inside the nation. Henceforth, they are subject to special controls, according to provisions that will be immediately promulgated and which are to prevent and avert the illegal use of these aircraft.

The measures will cover owners, exploiters, crew, maintenance personnel, airstrips, and airports. I have also ordered the Colombian Armed Forces to reinforce the routine surveillance of city streets. It is indispensable that the citizens give the national police and the Colombian troops all their appreciation, cooperation, and solidarity.

The government understands that a very important factor in reestablishing public order is the strengthening of the state security forces. Therefore, last December it issued decree No 23 increasing the term of compulsory military service up to 24 months for the 1986 and 1987 contingents. This measure allows the force commands to have an additional 12,500 veterans, whose experience is very useful. Likewise, the national police have increased their operational capacity by incorporating 5,000 new men and they hope to have additional support soon from the transportation section in order to increase city surveillance and make it more effective.

In addition, it is important to point out that the military forces have plans to call on the reserves, and the government will not hesitate to resort to this call if the situation in the country so demands it.

Over the next few days, consultations will be held with political parties, the church hierarchy, and leaders of the social forces and news media to discuss an overall strategy to struggle against drug trafficking. Likewise, following the initiative of Chief Justice Dr Jose Alejandro Bonivento, I will convene a meeting of the heads of the three government branches to better fulfill the constitutional provision ordering the harmonious cooperation among the three branches to achieve the objectives of the state.

Drug trafficking and related crimes are—by their very nature—an international issue. Therefore, they should be treated on an international basis. It is not a matter of a problem afflicting just one country, or a bilateral issue, but rather it is an issue affecting the entire world and requires world solidarity, quickly and effectively, in order to eradicate it.

This is the way I have been discussing it. Last January I said this to the diplomatic community accredited in Bogota, and I reiterated it last week. Through a presidential directive, I have issued instructions to the members of the National Security Council—the body in charge of preparing and coordinating the activities of the organizations tasked with preserving public order—so they will meet at least three times a week as long as the current circumstances with regard to public order prevail.

I want to refer in detail to the defense of democracy statute. The measures that have been adopted are inspired by the measures that have been tried in other countries, such as Spain, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain, which have also been threatened by terrorist bands and groups.

The experience of those countries was carefully studied, and we will continue to analyze it. The objective is not to copy, but rather adapt to our country, the instruments with which those democratic governments have defended their democracies from terrorist attacks. This statute issued by the government based on the state of siege powers includes more than 50 articles. Without going into detail, I will explain what this includes and how it works.

Obviously, this statute defines and punishes severely the crime of terrorism. Its definition is broader than the one included in the Penal Code in order to include in this manner as great a number of terrorist organizations as possible. In addition, it has eliminated from the definition of terrorism everything that made it difficult to prove someone was a terrorist. These criminals will be punished in an exemplary manner. Something similar will happen to persons who, while not perpetrators or accomplices in these terrorist actions, collaborate with these criminals.

The following crimes have been singled out and those who commit them will be severely punished: acting as an accessory to terrorist activities, demanding or requesting money or contributions to finance terrorism, and initiating or encouraging terrorism.

It is well known that the Colombian terrorists often operate through hired killers, criminals who are willing to violate the law for money. Legal loopholes have made it very difficult to punish them. It is very difficult to gather evidence for an action that sometimes occurs in unpopulated areas or which has been executed so skillfully that the witnesses cannot determine the identity of the criminals. The statute for the defense of democracy changes all this. It will not punish the act, but the criminal for what he is. The hired killer will be punished for being a hired killer, regardless of whether he kills or not, kidnaps or not. Of course, if he kills or kidnaps, the punishment will be much more severe.

The same thing will apply to members of terrorist organizations. The mere fact of being a member of one of these organizations will be punished. In this way, we have introduced into Colombia one of the most effective advances in modern criminal law, which has had good results in other countries, especially in Germany and recently in Spain.

In addition, in the measures directly dealing with terrorism the statute contains several provisions to increase punishment to dissuade criminals and to help obtain evidence of their crimes. This is another legal innovation, describing a crime in such a way that it will be much easier to prove that it has been committed. You might ask why we have created new crimes or improved [the description of] current crimes, why we have increased the punishment, and why we have made proving crimes easier, if the criminals are not captured. This problem has been satisfactorily dealt with in several ways in other countries. We are learning from their example.

To identify and locate criminals we have created incentives for reporting crimes. Monetary rewards of millions of pesos will be offered to those who provide authorities with useful information to arrest criminals. In addition, the criminals will be given the opportunity to repent and cooperate with the authorities. If a criminal's cooperation leads to the arrest and punishment of those responsible for the crimes in which he participated or in other crimes, his sentence can be reduced and he could even be pardoned. He would be freed but many others would be imprisoned. The state will protect that repentant criminal from reprisals and it will help him live a decent, normal life.

The experience of other countries confirms what we all knew: Without the citizens' cooperation, we cannot successfully fight terrorism. Therefore, the people who know the whereabouts, plans, and actions of terrorists and who remain silent and do not inform the authorities are in reality helping the criminals, betraying society, and, as if that were not enough, unconsciously destroying their own future.

On several occasions I have called for the citizens' solidarity against crime. Few have responded as demanded. The time has come to punish this lack of solidarity. This is done by the statute for the defense of democracy. Those who do not cooperate will be punished. Those who provide effective information, even if anonymously to protect their safety, will receive a monetary reward and protection from the authorities.

Another obstacle in defending democracy against criminals is the existence of legal procedures that are inappropriate to successfully wage the battle. One cannot apply normal rules to deal with crises. For this reason, special measures have been adopted to facilitate, speed up, and make more effective the actions of the security services, the public forces, and the courts.

Of course, all of this has been established under the necessary safeguards so the innocent will not be unjustly punished and so the Constitution will be respected. The justice minister has the mission of making known through the media—whose cooperation we request—the legal provisions that establish rewards for citizens who provide information leading to the identification and arrest of criminals. He will also explain the provisions dealing with the reduction of sentences for those charged with crimes who contribute to solving crimes and who help identify the masterminds and perpetrators of those crimes. The minister will also make known the measures dealing with the protection of witnesses and of those who cooperate in administering justice.

Once again I call for solidarity and hope you will use the television program called Citizens' Cooperation. I hope that through the telephone or by mail, you will provide details, information, and evidence that can help the investigators and judges in their work.

This afternoon, thanks to the citizens' cooperation, the intelligence services found a tunnel hidden in the farm where Dr Andres Pastrana was rescued. They found the following arsenal belonging to the criminal organization: 37 of the most modern rifles manufactured in Germany; 3 handguns; thousands of rounds of ammunition for weapons of various calibers; army and police uniforms; devices used to change a person's physical appearance; and other material.

A president must listen to the people's opinion, but he must also withstand, with good reason, the pressures of those who are confused and disoriented. It is not enough to do something; one must do the right thing.

I thank all those who have expressed their support for these government initiatives. The government will do everything it can to keep the country united and to make the national consensus more lasting and strong. Good night, and see you soon.

### 'Severe' Law Against Terrorism Issued

*PA281925 Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1215 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Bogota—A severe law to fight terrorism, which includes sentences up to 25 years and fines up to 200 times the base pay of those disturbing public order, goes into effect today.

The government used its state of siege powers to set punishments for personal assault; pipeline explosions; incitation to desert the Armed Forces; omission of terrorist actions in reports; burning of vessels, aircraft, and mass transportation means; possession of weapons, explosives, or toxic substances; tampering with foods and medicines; and illegal use of broadcast media, among other things.

The wide range of crimes specified will be investigated and (?enforced) by public order judges throughout the country who will issue initial rulings. The government has established special courts in all 27 judicial district tribunals to handle appeals. Each court consists of four magistrates to be appointed by the Supreme Court of Justice. The magistrates will be assisted by a prosecutor appointed by the nation's attorney general.

Besides toughening penalties and sanctions, the government took other measures to fight terrorism, impunity, and violence, including a measure to toughen penalties on those committing crimes against ranking state officials. These officials include the president, the comptroller general, the attorney general, ministers, department leaders, deputies, prosecutors [personeros], councillors, candidates, civic and labor leaders, journalists, and university professors, among others.

Public order judges can order the seizure of the personal property and real estate of those charged. A special procedure for trying those charged with many crimes specifies that their legal status be defined within 10 days after the investigation, and within 20 days when more than 3 people are involved

Conditional release will be granted only when a sentence has not been handed down within 210 days after the arrest. Court proceedings in these cases must be implemented and a ruling handed down within 50 days, and within 100 days when more than 10 detained people are involved.

Police and military officials are authorized to arrest people suspected of terrorist actions without judicial order if the arresting officer informs his superior and turns the case over to public order judges within 24 hours.

Also, homes and people in public can be searched when there are leads indicating storage of ammunition, [word indistinct] weapons, or to determine whether individuals are carrying illegal weapons, explosives, substances, or communications equipment that could be used in terrorist actions.

## Uruguay

### Iglesias Leaves on 'Surprising' Trip to U.S.

*PY281811 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0230 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] Montevideo, 27 Jan (EFE)—Uruguayan Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias will leave today for Washington, where he will meet with Latin American diplomats and financial authorities to establish his probable candidacy for the IDB presidency.

Uruguayan journalistic sources have called Iglesias' trip as "surprising" because it was not included on the Foreign Ministry's agenda.

Iglesias left Montevideo with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, who ended his visit to Uruguay and went to Buenos Aires, the next stage of his South American tour.

The candidacy of the Uruguayan foreign minister to replace Mexican Antonio Ortiz Mena, who has been IDB president for 17 years, has received the decisive support of Brazil and Venezuela in the past few days.

Iglesias has stated that he would be a candidate provided problems between the United States, the main IDB partner, and Latin American countries are resolved. Such problems prompted Ortiz Mena's resignation.

The deadline for the presentation of candidates for the "IDB" presidency is 4 February 1988.

### Malmierca Visits National Party Leader

*PY281255 Montevideo Radio Carve in Spanish 0830 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Text] National Party leader Wilson Ferreira Aldunate has received Cuban Ambassador Joaquin Mas and Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca at Ferreira's farm in Rocha Department.

At approximately 0915 yesterday Minister Malmierca who was accompanied by Ambassador Joaquin Mas Martinez and Senator Juan Raul Ferreira, arrived at the farm, where he was met by Wilson Ferreira and his wife, Susana Sienra de Ferreira.

At approximately 1000 the Cuban minister and ambassador, accompanied by Senator Ferreira, left the farm by plane and returned to Montevideo.

### Minister Denies Army Unloading Ships at Port

*PY271048 Montevideo Radio Carve in Spanish 0830 GMT 27 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] National Defense Minister Hugo Medina has said it is not true that Army personnel are unloading the vessels anchored in Montevideo port. The minister made this statement at the Libertad Building after his usual Tuesday meeting with President Julio Maria Sanguinetti.

Medina went on to say this is a hoax designed to make the people believe the Armed Forces are doing something they would not do.

They intend to portray the Armed Forces as strikebreakers, and this is far from the truth. [recorded passage omitted]

### Communist Party Leader on Tasks, Prospects

*AU231259 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jan 88 p 4*

[Interview with Jaime Perez, deputy secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay, in Montevideo by Havana correspondent Csaba Nagy: "The Communist Party of Uruguay After Bloody Decades of Underground Activity—Interview With the Deputy Secretary General of Our Fraternal Party in Montevideo"—date not given]

[Text] Jaime Perez gave an interview to our Havana correspondent on the experiences of the period following the military dictatorship and on the direct tasks facing the party.

[Nagy] A military dictatorship was in power in Uruguay from 1973 to 1985, and, together with the other democratic forces, the Communist Party contributed greatly to its demise. How do you evaluate the period immediately following the return of democracy from the viewpoint of the party?

[Perez] The Communist Party of Uruguay was one of the leading forces in the opposition during the 12 years of dictatorship. During this period, the party suffered considerable losses—many of our comrades were murdered, many people disappeared, and others were tortured in the prisons of the dictatorship. Many of our party members went into exile to escape reprisals. This period was without a doubt the most tragic in our party's history. During all those years, we had to exert tremendous efforts to maintain contacts between the communists living in exile and those working in the underground or imprisoned at home, and to ensure the party's unity. Based on the experiences of the past 3 years, we have concluded that, as a result of our activity, the Communist Party has emerged from the underground and entered the political arena with considerably increased prestige.

We set two main goals that are related to each other. The first goal is the consolidation and, later, the broadening of democracy. We started from the premise that the fall of the dictatorship was a joint success for all the people and for all the democratic forces. We consider this to be our main goal even though the party of the big bourgeoisie won the first elections after the dictatorship fell. Any activity that hinders the consolidation of democracy during this historic phase carries with it the danger of a return to fascism.

The second goal is the strengthening of the unity of the left-wing forces and the unity of the working class and the party. Following the years of underground activity, we convened a party conference in 1985. This conference proved that the working class had been able to maintain its unity during the years of dictatorship, that the Broad Front composed of the democratic forces had further consolidated, and that the left wing had been broadened and its influence increased.

[Nagy] What is the party's current composition and membership?

[Perez] Since 1985, our party's membership has grown by about 10,000 members each year, so we have gained about 30,000 new members. We should also add to this number the members of our youth organization, which is growing by about 5,000 members annually. The number of party members below 35 years of age is considerable—they make up almost 65 percent of the total. This, however, requires that we pay particular attention to these members' education and instruction. In addition to being enthusiastic and committed, they must also be

politically and ideologically educated. Some 75 percent of our members live from wages and salaries, and are primarily industrial workers.

[Nagy] What is the communists' position on issues concerning the left and the broader public opinion?

[Perez] At the beginning of 1987, we announced four large-scale tasks that are closely related to these issues. We thus consider it to be an outstanding success that we have achieved our goals in practically all four of these areas. First, at the extraordinary congress of the trade union center, our goal was to consolidate unity and maintain our influence; second, at the congress of the Broad Front made up of the democratic forces, our goal was to maintain existing guidelines; third, the goal to collect the more than 600,000 signatures necessary for the re-examination of the so-called "amnesty" law; and finally, of course, the goal to strengthen the party's organization.

As for the trade union congress, some groups under the influence of the right-wing parties urged the creation of a trade union movement that would reflect political trends. Thanks to the position of the communist trade union members, we succeeded to a large extent in avoiding the danger of disintegration of unity in the trade union movement.

We had to fight against similar divisive trends at the Broad Front National Congress held at the end of last year. The right-wing parties tried to turn the left-wing forces against each other with the theory of a "new" and "traditional" left wing. Attempts were also made to revise the political platform of the Broad Front. All these attempts failed and the Congress approved the existing guidelines and confirmed General Liber Seregni as president.

Practically all the progressive forces took a stand against the "amnesty" law adopted by the right-wing parties at the end of last year—parties that hold the majority in the Parliament. (The law in question provides amnesty to persons who participated in reprisals, torture, and murder during the years of dictatorship.) According to Uruguay's laws, however, a referendum must be held on laws passed by parliament if at least 25 percent of the electorate demands this by signing a petition. As a result of the success of the movement to hold a referendum—in which the Communist Party played a decisive role—we collected the signatures of some 634,000 Uruguayan citizens, or 30 percent of the electorate, instead of the 25 percent required by law. The importance of this success is really striking if one takes into consideration the fact that some 300,000 citizens whose names are on the electoral list currently live abroad. The verification of these signatures is now underway, and a referendum is expected to be held this fall, and this will be a forerunner of the general elections due in November 1989.

[Nagy] What are the party's chances in the elections?

[Perez] For the time being we cannot realistically count on a victory on the national level by the Broad Front, which also includes the Communist Party. Our goal—and here we have good chances—is to gain control of the administration of our capital, Montevideo, where more than 1.5 million people, or half the country's population, live. Together with our participation in the Broad Front, we wish to further increase the party's power, prestige, and influence on the masses. We think that the objective conditions for this exist. Through its activities during the years of dictatorship, the Communist Party of Uruguay achieve a high level of prestige, and, since the restoration of democracy, our opportunities have increased and anticommunist feelings in the country have decreased perceptibly.